The Christian Century

A Journal of Religion

The Socialists Offer Norman Thomas

By Paul Hutchinson

Convictions and the Open Mind

By Phillips Elliott

Is Methodism Defeated?

An Editorial

Fifteen Cents a Copy — June 8, 1932 — Four Dollars a Year

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

June 8, 1932

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Entered as second-class matter February 23, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Christian Century Press, 440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

$4.00 a year. Canadian postage, 52 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.04 extra

The Christian Century is indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature generally found in the larger public libraries.

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The Office Notebook

With June the political pot begins to boil over. And it is the hope of The Christian Century that nothing important in the changing political situation shall fail to reach the eyes of its readers. This week there is an account of the first of the important party conventions. When the major parties hold their nominating gatherings there will be similar studies of their proceedings.

How many of our readers have heard that The Christian Century, and the Conversation About God, has become a political issue? In the state of Wisconsin the newspaper reports state that the "stalwart" (anti-LaFollette) candidate for the republican nomination for senator is running on an anti-Otto, anti-Christian Century platform!

It may be a little hard for some readers to see what Professor Otto's contributions to a religious weekly's discussions of theism have to do with the selection of a new governor for Wisconsin. But the connection is really easy to trace; much easier than many connections in American politics, as in the case of the Chicago mayoralty and King George's snoot. Professor Otto is, of course, a member of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin. He also, in the Conversation, has identified himself as an atheist, albeit an atheist of a fairly valuable type. The University of Wisconsin is alleged to be dominated by the LaFollettes. Hence, the LaFollettes approve the university; the university approves Otto; Otto approves atheism; so the LaFollettes approve atheism! Turn the rascals out!

An important matter is raised by the following letter:

I wish to applaud your recent editorials on Wet and Dry Strategy. I feel that your final point in the latter editorial can be crystallized into a slogan for the Drys if we drift into a referendum. I suggest, however, a change in your wording on page 632. Instead of "Repeal versus a specific substitute," I believe you ought to say, "The Eighteenth Amendment versus a specific substitute." Would it be better still to say, "The Eighteenth Amendment versus a constructive substitute"?

Haverford College. R. W. KELSEY.

A number of subscribers have been confused by the same error which can be explained only by a confession of momentary—just *momentary*, mark you—woolgathering by the editorial wits. Of course the formula "Repeal versus a Specific Substitute" was wrong. It should have been "Continuance versus Specific Substitute," or as Dr. Kelsey suggests above, "Eighteenth Amendment versus Specific Substitute."

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The CHRISTIAN CENTURY
An Undenominational Journal of Religion

VOLUME XLIX | CHICAGO, JUNE 8, 1932 | NUMBER 23

EDITORIAL

THE SUPREME COURT has agreed to review the cases of the seven Negro boys convicted in Scottsboro, Alabama, of assaulting two white girls. By this act the court has saved the nation from what might have become as historic, and trouble-breeding, a case as that of Sacco and Vanzetti. We have no desire to prejudge the evidence as it will be presented to the supreme court; our only concern has been that the evidence should be heard by a court beyond suspicion of being influenced by any local factors. The chief justice of the supreme court of Alabama, in dissenting from his colleagues at the time they affirmed the Scottsboro verdict, sufficiently indicated the reasons why a new trial before an impartial tribunal was required if the suspicion was not to remain that these boys have been the victims of mob race prejudice. The defense has, up to this point, resolved itself all too much into a jockeying for strategic position between the National association for the advancement of colored people and the International labor defense. The latter, a communist body, is now in possession of the field. It is to be hoped that, by the time the case is presented to the supreme court, the attempt to make it a piece of partisan ballyhoo will have been dropped, and a genuine defense of these illiterate young Negroes, prepared by counsel of reputation, can be made.

The Supreme Court Intervenes

Germany's Hour of Desperation

THERE is no gain in trying to gloss over the seriousness of the situation in Europe produced by the downfall of the Bruening government in Germany. The moves that took place with such startling and unheralded suddenness in Berlin during the closing days of May and the opening days of June show that Germany is on the brink of a military, if not a fascist, dictatorship. The desperation in the reich had reached a point where the president became convinced that a balancing centrist government, seeking to maintain republican forms by virtual resort to dictatorial methods, could no longer stand. The effort to obtain an approximation of a balanced budget by shaving down the unemployment relief benefits at one end while piling on more emergency taxes at the other had played itself out. Combining with the steadily falling trade balance, bankruptcy and an open uprising were just around the corner. Indeed, President von Hindenburg was evidently convinced that that corner was so near at hand that he dared not even wait for the Lausanne conference, which is to open next week. Apparently he felt that he had but two possible choices. He might turn to Hitler at once. But this would have produced an almost immediate counter-reaction within Germany, with every possibility that the social democrats, hitherto a part of the center coalition, would swing to the left to combine in an uprising against an open fascist regime. Or he might try an ultra-conservative military administration as a temporary stop-gap. He has chosen the latter, picking Major von Papen as the new chancellor of a "national concentration" cabinet. We go to press before the composition of the new government has been announced, but such forecasts as have appeared make it certain that it will be heavily military and reactionary. Whether it will prove less obnoxious to the German workers than would a Hitler cabinet remains to be seen.

How Will France Respond?

ABOUT the only thing that seems to have interested the daily press in America about the new German chancellor is the fact that, while military attaché in Washington during the early days of the war, he became persona non grata to the American government and was recalled on request. Of course that has nothing whatever to do with making his present choice significant. The fact that matters about Major von Papen today is that he is the owner and editor of the militant Catholic organ, Germania,

and has for some time been demanding that the reich be put under a military dictatorship. What will the appointment of such a man, backed by a cabinet of generals and members of the old nobility, do to the reawakening liberalism of France? Ever since the French elections there have been signs that a tremendous body of public opinion in that nation was ready to support a policy of active friendship and cooperation with Germany. Despite M. Herriot's continued insistence on security, informed correspondents have asserted that the new government—which has not yet taken office—was seriously considering the possibility of calling for a general wiping out of reparations, as a preliminary to an appeal to America for debt cancellation. These intimations have been no more than intimations, but as almost the only ray of light amid the encircling European gloom they have been hailed with joy by those who hope for peace. On the day after the downfall of Bruening, however, Herriot and his radical socialists definitely rejected the advances of the socialists and threw in their lot with the conservative republicans led by Tardieu. Thus, France at once springs back into an attitude of tension. And the chances for any accomplishment at the vital Lausanne gathering once more sink to near-zero.

Mr. Walker Makes Friends Easily

NEW YORK newspapers have a habit of bearing down hard on the "charm" of their city's mayor. Outlanders have been inclined to some skepticism on the subject. They have viewed plenty of photographs of the New York executive, and have been willing to concede that he is a snappy dresser. They have listened to him on the radio, in the news reels, and read him in the newspapers, and have acknowledged that he ranked well up as a wisecracker. They have watched him flit hither and yon across the map, and have acknowledged that as an office-holding playboy he seemed to be in a class by himself. But charm is something other than any of these things, or all of them taken together. Yet now the evidence seems to be complete. By putting the mayor on the witness stand, Judge Seabury has given the nation a picture of one beside whose gold-digging abilities the sirens of Homer or the blondes of Miss Loos look very small potatoes indeed. Mr. Walker, and his vociferous admirers, insist that nothing came out in the hearings to prove any criminal accumulations on the mayor's part. That is true, and is likely to remain true unless some of the missing witnesses can be located. But no wonder the citizens of New York are proud of a mayor who, wishing to take trips to Europe, finds ten thousand dollar letters of credit tucked in his pocket on the morn of sailing—and no need to worry about overdrafts, either! Why, in Gotham, even little boys, we are told, are so overwhelmed by the merits of the mayor that by the time they get through working on the emotions of their newspaper-owning daddies there is a $246,000 gift on the way to the mayor's private safe! And this ability to charm money out of the ether seems to be communicable to all who are lucky enough to surround the mayor. At least, Mr. Walker says that the $961,000 which a $3,500 accountant deposited in four years had nothing to do with his own income, even though the (now missing) accountant and he were very good friends. Well, it all makes a contrast to reading about the depression, anyway. And what, if anything, is Governor Roosevelt going to do about it?

An Episcopal Bishop Vents His Wrath

THE FACT that eleven of the twenty-one New York clergymen composing the committee that asked the senate to investigate coalfield conditions in Kentucky were Episcopalians seems to have upset Bishop H. P. Almon Abbott, of Lexington. Writing an open letter to the presiding bishop of the Episcopal church, dealing with what he regards as "interference" with the "affairs of my diocese," Bishop Abbott says, "I have shepherded Harlan and Bell counties for three years. . . . To my mind, it is a piece of gratuitous impertinence for priests of the Episcopal church, whether representing an interdenominational committee of clergymen or otherwise, to come into a diocese, without the consent of the bishop, and, after two or three days' investigation, to give forth their infallible results to the world. . . . I have already received most unfavorable reaction from my mountain peoples, and the prospects are that our work has been jeopardized for many months, if not years, to come. . . . I ask you to inform other like-minded priests that there is to be no repetition of such behavior in the future." Here is the episcopal voice full diapason. But it remains to be seen whether one bishop, thus standing on what he regards as his ecclesiastical prerogatives, can stem the tide of demand for social justice which is running with increasing strength among the clergy of the Episcopal church. These clergymen believe that they have a religious responsibility to discharge in communities where human rights seem to be as much in disregard as in the Kentucky coalfields. It is likely to take more than a bishop, or even a diocesan convention, to restrain them from "repetition of such behavior in the future."

"Business Must Clean House!"

THIS WEEK, as an example of the sort of thing that has been going on in American big business, we come to the case of the Warner Brothers. The Warner brothers are known, at least in their own publicity office, as "the miracle men of Hollywood." The miracle, in their case, was the first sensationally

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successful talkie—the one that made the Al Jolson's mammy yawp re-echo through the corridors of the nation—which transformed their company, overnight, from one with an exceedingly dubious outlook to a place in the king row. The senate committee that is digging away at the inside story of recent months in Wall street had the principal Warner brother on the stand the other day, and gained details concerning another miracle. The miracle might be entitled, "How to clean up $9,000,000 by selling out your own company." (The Warners insist that it was only $7,000,000—and that the whole transaction was just a coincidence anyway.) The technique of the Warner brothers seems to have been simple. After the bubble of endless prosperity burst, in 1930, the Warners sold more than 300,000 shares of the stock of their own company. They got $16,500,000 for it. All the time they were selling there were roseate reports in newspapers and magazines, declaring that the company was due to make a clean-up in the moving picture field. After the stock had been disposed of, these reports curiously shifted. They then stressed the company's dubious prospects, which, as a matter of fact, was a warranted pessimism. The stock promptly went down. So the brothers were able to buy back for $7,500,000 what they had sold for $16,500,000. On the stand Mr. Warner held that he could see nothing "unethical" in thus dealing with the stock of a corporation for which he was a responsible officer. The brothers had not known that the stock was going down when they sold. Then why did they sell?

The Senate Votes a Tax Bill

UNDER pressure such as has seldom been focused on a legislature, the senate, in the wee sma' hours of June 1 finally passed a tax bill. The bill is calculated to provide revenue approximating $1,113,000,000. Coupled with economies in the national executive budget of $369,000,000 already made, and with further economies of about $400,000,000 which it is expected will be effected by congressional action, there is thus in sight a theoretical $1,882,000,000 wherewith to offset the $1,700,000,000 which the President set as the loss in federal revenue in his personal appeal made to the senate twelve hours before the vote was taken. But all figures connected with pending financial legislation need to be taken with reserve. Who can foretell with confidence what a proposed tax will yield in these days? Who can foretell what the cost of a certain operation will be? The bill as passed by the senate, although it did not contain the manufacturers' tax that the President proposed, was probably as workable a measure as could be devised. It had the great virtue of containing nothing that should delay its passage through the conference stage; there is good reason to hope that it may be ready for the presidential signature by the time this reaches our readers. But the bill contains one vicious and indefensible feature. By a series of unabashed log-rolling operations tariff boosts on lumber, coal, oil and copper have been attached to it. Not only is it acknowledged that the tariff increases of the Smoot-Hawley bill have had much to do with bringing on the present crisis, but these particular new tariffs are particularly obnoxious because they will immediately and directly offend such of our important foreign markets as remain. The tariffs on coal and lumber are a direct slap at Canada; enact them and the dream of a St. Lawrence canal is over. The tariffs on oil and copper will be resented all over South America; enact them and the doors of Chile, Peru, Venezuela and other markets will swing shut.

No More Compounding With Criminals!

ONE last minute amendment that was made to the senate tax bill will arouse the enthusiastic support of the nation. That was the provision, proposed by Senator Glenn of Illinois, that the tax upon illegally gained income shall be 100 per cent—complete confiscation. The background of this legislation will be immediately understood by Americans. It is a result of the campaign which the government has made to lay conspicuous gangsters by the heels on charges of income tax evasion. The method has worked; it has sent Al Capone and many lesser lights of the underworld to federal penitentiaries. But the public conscience has not been comfortable in the face of a situation in which the same government that made certain acts illegal seemingly showed itself ready to compound illegality provided the criminal gave Uncle Sam a share of the booty. By now providing that there shall be no sharing, but that the government shall take every cent that it discovers to have been gained from law-breaking, an intolerable moral confusion is dispelled. It is possible to determine the income of gangsters; the Capone trial proved that. It is also known that, with the income removed, gangsters soon go out of business. Daily the evidence increases that the authorities are attaining the upper hand in their struggle with the organized underworld. The enactment of the Glenn amendment will provide them with a new weapon of immense effectiveness.

The Presbyterians Seem Fed Up With Elder Hays

IT WOULD be interesting to know what (*a*) the Will Hays office and (*b*) the movie barons who maintain it think of the action of the Presbyterian general assembly on the movies. For the Will Hays office, as our readers know, was brought into being to deflect the wrath of the nation's moral forces from the heads of the Hollywood producers. And one of Mr. Hays' principal qualifications for his extraordi-

narily well-paid job has been the fact that he is an elder in the Presbyterian church. Not only an elder, but a conspicuous elder—one of the kind who gets up in the general assembly every so often and exhorts other laymen to an increased generosity in behalf of ministerial pensions. If Mr. Hays can no longer hold his own church in line, the chances for a continued free hand in Hollywood are indeed slim. Yet read what the Presbyterians voted on the movie question and draw your own conclusions:

> That the general assembly regrets that we have been driven to the conclusion that there is no concerted action on the part of the producers of moving pictures to produce decent entertainment for the public. We are convinced that many of the pictures produced here for foreign exhibition are of such a type as to damage seriously the good name of our country. We have had an abundance of promises of better things to come, but we have also had abundant and continuous disappointments. We have seen, in the press, the moral codes adopted by producers and have then seen upon the screen a procession of inanities, imbecilities, immoralities, and obscenities. The advertising in the press has been even more objectionable than some of the pictures. The pressure of the law, of public opinion, and of decreased box office receipts seems to be the only alternative.
>
> The conviction is growing that all promises and all activities of men of influence working within the producing organizations for clean pictures are ineffective. We urge upon congress the advisability and practicability of a federal commission that shall deal with this evil at its source and with all the accompanying evils that now baffle the efforts of individuals and groups of citizens in securing clean pictures.
>
> We urge that local organizations be set up for the purpose of securing information concerning motion pictures of value for the purpose of making local previews and of giving local publicity that will inform the public of approved pictures, and we recommend that a list of approved films be published in our church papers and in Moral Welfare.

No doubt about it; the old, sure-fire Hays hokum no longer works!

Leave Conscience Behind, All Ye Who Enter Here!

HOW FAR the department of labor, whose bureaus represent the federal government in naturalization matters, intends to go in carrying out the supreme court's decisions in conscience cases, is indicated by the fact that it has just brought proceedings to cancel the citizenship of a young Methodist minister in Vermont who was granted citizenship a year ago by Judge Lowell in Boston. The minister is Rev. Gunner Berg Bruvold, Norwegian born, a graduate of Boston university theological school, and now a Methodist pastor at Isle LaMotte, Vt. The charge brought by the labor department is that Mr. Bruvold obtained his citizenship by fraud, although it is claimed that the court record shows that when asked whether he would bear arms in the event of war, he definitely stated that he could not conscientiously take human life, even in defense of his country. Judge Lowell, however, admitted him to citizenship. Instead of appealing the case, as the department's representative announced at the time would be done, action has been started to cancel the grant of citizenship. The Civil liberties union has come to Mr. Bruvold's support, employed an attorney and will fight the case. The situation is growing more serious as the Schwimmer, Bland and Macintosh precedents are being applied to numerous new cases arising in all parts of the land. But the question of reversing a court action granting citizenship opens up interesting and ominous possibilities for many thousands of naturalized citizens who, when they took the oath of allegiance, did not dream that it implied a promise to bear arms, or to put the will of congress above the will of God. Nationalism is having its day, sure enough—or is it only the dawn of its day?

Is Methodism Defeated?

NOT ONLY the Methodist church, but the whole Christian enterprise in America suffered a stunning defeat when, on May 25, the quadrennial Methodist Episcopal general conference flickered out in futility. For it is possible for the realistic and objective student of American affairs not only to point to the utter failure of the Methodists to measure up to the demands of the time; it is also possible for such a student to suggest that the helplessness of this great denomination indicates a similar helplessness on the part of all the other denominations. It was far more than one church that showed itself in full retreat at Atlantic City; the Methodist conference was a warning that defeatism is the mood of the churches.

Let it be admitted at once that the collapse of the Methodist conference was made to appear more shocking by its contrast with the expectations widely held before the conference opened. But what comfort is there in any such reminder? Was not the country justified in looking to the Methodist gathering for a new religious leadership? Here was a great church body reassembling after four pregnant years. This body had last faced its responsibilities while the nation was drunk with a spurious prosperity. It faced now a nation shocked and sobered into a realization of the shallowness of material living. In this body there would be bishops and delegates drawn from the four corners of the earth. To its platform would come the prayers and petitions of ten thousand conferences and congregations, all under the goad of the current distress. To this denomination may well be accorded the right to glory in its tradition of leadership; from the days of the wilderness trail to the day of the first writing of a social creed it has followed its instinct to force the pace, to dare the future. All the other churches, and the nation at large, looked to the Methodist quadrennial conference for some evidence that, amid all the present agony, Protestantism has not lost faith, has not lost direction, has not lost an onward momentum.

But what happened? The Methodists went to Atlantic City; they settled down for almost a month amid the perfect physical surroundings of that seaside resort. They listened to the address of their bishops. Not an epochal document, perhaps; a bit vague on the most exigent of our social problems, more than a bit timid on the vital issue of war and peace, and again a bit inclined to rest too heavily on the supposed support which theism may find in the utterances of a few modern scientists. But a strong, rugged, forward-looking, unapologetic document, nevertheless. By far the best thing—one almost says the only valuable thing—that came out of the whole conference! Delivered, done with, shoved to one side by the time that the conference was a day old! For what reason? In order that the Methodists could plunge into the most panic-stricken, unbalanced, runaway pursuit of an alleged economy that has swept over a church body in modern church history.

Undoubtedly the condition of the Methodist finances showed a need for drastic economies. Every institution tends, with the passage of years, to accumulate budgetary items which, whatever their original importance, have little necessity for continuance. There was dead wood and useless timber in the Methodist organization that should have been cut out. But the work should have been done carefully, after expert investigation and advice, and only as an adjunct to the launching of an advance program based on the potencies of the denominational machinery when freed from the unnecessary parts. Instead, the whole cry of the conference became "Save money!" and such a frenzy of money-saving took possession of the delegates that there was time for nothing else. It is a commentary on what took place that post-conference evaluations fail to show that some of the most drastic retrenchments, as in the case of the church papers, will yield any actual savings at all!

In thus delivering the Methodists into the hands of the panic-stricken the lay delegates seem to have played a major part. We believe in lay representation in the governing body of any church; we have a keen sense of the peril in which any communion stands if it is under unrestrained hierarchical or clerical control. But the Atlantic City convention shows what may happen when lay representatives, themselves thrown into panic by the conditions which affect their ledgers, find themselves with power over religious enterprises. The leadership of the churches then becomes only as courageous as a treasurer's balance sheet. And no religious movement in history, whether Christian or of any other name, ever made the slightest dent on its time while it went forward only to the extent to which it had money in the bank.

So what was the outcome at Atlantic City? With the state of the world at large more dangerous, more in need of religious undergirding than at any time since 1914, world issues practically sank below the level of the Methodist horizon. The denomination's peace commission was thrown away; its interest in affairs outside our national borders was concentrated on the question as to precisely what rung in the ecclesiastical ladder is occupied by a bishop elected by a conference meeting outside the United States, and whether the salary of such a bishop couldn't be made to stand a cut. It could. (The salaries of all the bishops, those in America as well as those overseas, were also cut, together with the salaries of most of the other denominational officers.)

National issues, also, largely went by the board. The only exception of any importance was in the case of prohibition; even there confusion developed as between the viewpoint of the bishops and the Methodist temperance board and the viewpoint of the laymen's convention which met as an adjunct for the general conference.

It will be objected that such generalizations are unfair to the four or five resolutions on the current economic situation which were passed in the closing hours of the conference. It is quite true that these resolutions, on the insistence of a group of desperately earnest ministers, were passed. They read well; they commit the Methodist church to advanced positions. Thus, in one report there is a call for "the replacement of our present policy of unplanned, competitive individualism by a planned industrial economy definitely aiming at the assurance of economic security." This is backed by support for the shortened working week, unemployment insurance, old age pensions, and more of the same sort of social legislation. There is a report favoring immediate federal unemployment relief. There is a report which says that "the church must not acquiesce in the continuance of the present status," which it calls "unchristian, unethical and anti-social because it is largely based on the profit motive." There is another report that deals with such things as racial discrimination, housing, moving pictures, free speech, lynching, the radio.

But how much did such resolutions honestly mean to the Methodist conference? To what extent did they really express its spirit? Hardly at all. They were words, adopted at the end, so that it could not be said that the conference had forgotten that issues such as these so much as exist. The only vital interest of the conference was with the cost of the denominational machine. Could that cost be pared? If so, where and how and how much? Even the struggle over the bishops—a struggle that, if held to the essential issue of the nature and use of ecclesiastical authority, might have been of significance and value for all the churches, as well as for the Methodists—finally frittered itself out in pecking away at the size of the pension on which a Methodist bishop is to support himself after he has retired from active service! And for all the doughty talk that has been indulged in among the Methodists as to

democracy in the service of the kingdom of God, the one man who took the platform to meet that issue squarely and set it firmly forth in specific terms—Ernest F. Tittle of Evanston—was from that moment almost an outcast.

There would be nothing gained by commenting here on the hours, the days, the weeks which the Atlantic City conference devoted to tinkering with the minutest matters of Methodist machinery. Nor of the way in which the election of bishops—in full accord with the spirit that took possession of the gathering—eventuated in the elimination of every candidate of bold thought and speech, with choice of two brethren of unimpeachable good disposition who could be counted on not to upset any applecarts or raise any new issues. But what are the facts of importance to the total Christian movement which come out of this gathering?

First, that the current depression, which is so generally spoken of as though it were confined to the field of industry, or politics, has got the church under its sorry spell. There was no more faith for fresh adventure in such a church gathering as this than there would be in a meeting of Insull stockholders. Second, that as the character of modern needs becomes more complex and more exigent, denominationalism becomes more self-defeating. There is tragedy—stark, naked tragedy—in the sight of a great church, the inheritor of a great pioneering tradition, thus obsessed with its own denominational concerns while a world sinks into despair. High-minded, devoted, deeply religious men and women went to Atlantic City expecting to prove the adequacy of their church for the need of this great hour. They have gone home to confess that all they could do, after becoming enmeshed in the denominational strings and pulleys, was to hack away at a budget.

A Platform for a Disinterested Party

IF WE are to have, as advocated in the two previous issues of The Christian Century, a Disinterested political party similar in its main features to the office-seeking parties of our present two-party system except that it presents no candidates of its own, it must be provided with a platform. That such a platform is possible is presupposed in the demand for such a party. The party would exist for its platform, and only for its platform, instead of the platform being fashioned to further the interests of the party. By its definition as *disinterested,* and by its self-limitation with respect to candidates, offices and patronage, it would have only one interest as a party, and that would be the achievement of specific ideals and policies in government. These ideals and policies would constitute its platform. It would necessarily be a changing platform, responsive to the changing conditions and problems of the nation and the world, dropping out particular objectives once they were attained, and adding new ones when conditions brought forth new issues.

The formulation of such a platform assumes that there does exist today a large body of disinterested and enlightened public opinion in substantial agreement as to the general direction in which our nation ought to go. This general direction is marked with many specific steps upon the importance of which the natural constituency of a Disinterested party is also in substantial agreement. In discussing this general direction and the particular steps involved in it, we shall have to limit our consideration to the larger, that is to say, the national, aspects of a Disinterested party. But it must not be inferred that the problems of state and local politics are to be left out of the picture. The Disinterested party would exist and function as a state party, in every state from Maine to California, meeting the issues which emerge in each state with an appropriate platform. It would also function as a local party in every town and city of the land in essentially the same way that it would function in national politics. The conception of such a party, we repeat, involves a complete organization of the liberal and disinterested electorate, from the federal center down to the last precinct, whose supporters would be bound together by no special or sectional interest, or lust of office, or hope of patronage. Its sole interest would be the progressive achievement of the public good. It would leave office-holding and patronage to the two parties which draw most of their vitality from such motives.

Can the platform of such a party be formulated? We believe it can. In an address recently delivered in a New England city by Professor Douglas C. Macintosh of Yale university, there is embodied a platform of liberal principles prepared for a purpose much akin to our own suggestion of a Disinterested party. It was this address that kindled in the editorial mind the proposal which we are here advocating. Dr. Macintosh's platform illustrates so well the possibilities of formulating the broad basis of agreement which characterizes liberal American political thought that we asked and have obtained his consent to use large parts of it here. But we have so modified and supplemented his formulations that it is not fair to hold Dr. Macintosh responsible for the first ten paragraphs, or for paragraphs 12 and 13, although we venture to believe, upon the basis of his own formulations of several of these planks that their present form will not meet with his disapproval. For illustrative purposes only, the following platform of a Disinterested political party is therefore submitted:

1. We advocate the adherence of the United States to the protocol of the world court without further delay.

2. We approve the fullest cooperation of the United

States with the League of Nations within the orbit of the Kellogg pact. We look forward to the early revision of the covenant of the league so as to bring it into conformity with the Kellogg pact, and to eliminate military sanctions, and thus leave the United States without justification for its abstention from membership in the league.

3. Pending the time when the United States shall become a member of the League of Nations, we favor the adoption by the signatories to the Kellogg pact, including the United States, of an agreement to consult together in the event of a crisis threatening the peace of the world; or an announcement by the United States that in the event of such a crisis this government will participate in conference with the League of Nations within the orbit of the Kellogg pact.

4. We favor the progressive disarmament of the nations by international agreement until armies and armaments are reduced to a size no greater than is required for purposes of international police.

5. We favor the active participation of the United States with other nations in an attempt to reach a satisfactory settlement of intergovernmental debts, and we approve the cancellation of such debts due this country, provided (1) that Germany is relieved of further reparation payments and, (2), that the nations make a substantial start upon disarmament.

6. We demand the abolition of compulsory military training in state supported educational institutions, except in military and naval academies.

7. We demand the safeguarding of the moral rights of all conscientious objectors to war, and amendment of naturalization laws so as to permit the naturalization of aliens, otherwise qualified, who object to war service on conscientious grounds.

8. We demand an amendment to the constitution (if the end desired cannot be attained by legislation or by the reversal of the supreme court decision in the Macintosh case) reinterpreting the oath of allegiance so that it shall not lay upon the citizen the intolerable necessity of surrendering his conscience to the keeping of congress.

9. We demand the recognition of Russia.

10. We favor international cooperation for the development and putting into operation of a world-plan to prevent over-production and to secure a better distribution of the necessities of life, and more particularly to remove friction and promote trade by a general downward revision of tariffs.

11. We favor the serious study, with a view to removing international friction, of problems of immigration and control of the increase of population.

12. We hold that the eighteenth amendment to the federal constitution and its enforcing acts should not be repealed but rigorously enforced. We favor whatever legislation may be expedient to make the prohibition of the liquor traffic more effective, such, for instance, as would make the buyer of liquor illegally sold *particeps criminis* with the seller. We demand that state legislatures and executives shall cooperate with the federal government in the discharge of their concurrent responsibility under the constitution to enforce the eighteenth amendment.

13. In view of the frenzied efforts now being put forth by opponents of prohibition to repeal the eighteenth amendment we demand that congressmen and senators who oppose the return of the saloon shall vote against the resubmission of the liquor question under any formula which does not provide a constructive substitute for prohibition, a substitute designed to conserve the values gained by prohibition and to prevent a return to the system of political and social corruption existing prior to the adoption of the eighteenth amendment.

14. We earnestly ask that serious consideration be given by the federal government as well as by state legislatures and executives to the problem of obtaining justice for the Negro in this country. Every reasonable measure should be taken to prevent the social crime of lynching, and to secure to the Negro the exercise of his political rights under the constitution.

15. In the interests of decency and social health, we demand a federal law designed to control at the source the output of the moving picture business, and to make the block-booking system illegal.

16. We favor the adoption of emergency measures for relief and employment on public works in accordance with a concerted plan of federal, state and local governments, designed to provide the absolute necessities of life for all the needy, but on condition that those receiving government assistance shall accept, as they are able, temporary employment by the government at a living wage, but at rates not necessarily equal to those prevailing in the trades.

17. We would encourage privately initiated plans, or, in default of such, we favor the adoption of a comprehensive and scientific plan for old age insurance, for disability insurance, and for unemployment insurance.

18. We favor the reduction of gross inequality of income by a lowering of taxes on agricultural property and by steeply progressive rates of taxation of large incomes. (With the approach to an equalization of wealth will come less danger of over-production and greater buying power, with increased trade and better prices for the producer.)

19. We favor the increase of gift and inheritance taxes in the higher brackets.

20. We favor the progressive socialization of the ownership and control of natural resources, public utilities, and basic industries, by a fair but economical scheme of state purchase and amortization of the debt by increased taxation of large incomes. Plans for state purchase of farm mortgages, under similar conditions of amortization, should be given serious consideration.

21. We favor the universal recognition of the right of labor, so long as industry remains incompletely socialized, to organize for collective bargaining, to strike, and to engage in peaceful picketing of factories and other places of employment, together with protection against unfair injunctions.

22. We favor a constitutional amendment abolishing child labor within the United States.

23. We favor the nationalization of our entire banking system including the full control of the Federal reserve system and the extension and enlargement of the Postal Savings bank to meet the full requirements of commerce and industry.

This is a cautious and conservative platform for liberals to stand upon. It is not conceived as a comprehensive platform, nor does it claim the merit of symmetry or adequate perspective. It is only a rough draft for purposes of suggestion. Its authors will be among the first to suggest improvements. But it does afford a beginning for an acceptable basis of organization. In the end, the platform of a Disinterested party would be written as any party platform is normally written, by a committee appointed for that purpose at the party convention, and adopted by the convention. But the above platform would command the support of hundreds of thousands, and we dare to believe, of millions, of American citizens.

If there is a practical way to draw these citizens into a common political organization so designed that it can function in all the practicalities of party politics, except office-holding and the distributing of patronage, an instrument of disinterested political action will be forged by which we shall be able to resist that law of gravity which drags the two-party system, when left to itself, down to the sordid level of inertia, log-rolling, job-seeking, corruption and hypocrisy. The salvation of our democracy depends

upon the organization of our civic and patriotic disinterestedness. Can this disinterestedness be organized? A hopeful answer to that question is possible if we can find that agency whose logical and manifest duty it is to undertake the task.

Dialogues of the Dead

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: One of the technical devices of that universal comic spirit, who, at times, becomes closely akin to the Cosmic Spirit, is an appeal to the larger perspective of another life. Sophisticated moderns, as Leuba would seem to indicate, may have lost the fulcrum of "life after life" as a dominant and practical motive, but the men of letters have never failed to utilize it. Thomas Hardy used to say in later life that whenever he joined a company in a room, he found himself—to use the lingo of the philosophers—viewing them *sub specie aeternatatis*.

Now, Mr. Editor, I know nothing more salutary for those of us who think that all the problems occur in our generation than to revert to these classic "Dialogues of the Dead" whether in the Odyssey (Book XI); the Aeneid (Book VI); Lucian, Aristophanes, Dante, Fontenelle, Lyttelton, Landor, or in the "Dialogues in Limbo" of Santayana. They will at least deflate us from the conceit that all wisdom will die with us.

Take the question of determinism and freedom. Professor Bridgmen's article, "The New Vision of Science," which he wrote for Harper's in 1929, warned us of a lunatic fringe that would make all sorts of capital about the principle of uncertainty, but it would be well to turn back to Lucian's imaginary debate between Minos and Sostratus for a brilliant debate about this very subject.

Then, sir, there's that eternally recurrent conflict between the classicists and the realists; between the conventions of literary style and the sponsors of "verse libre." The decisions that have slipped from the lap of the gods to those unenviable judges of Nobel and Pulitzer prizes command awe if not reverence in the deep places of the earth. Why not take a vacation out of our century and read the free-for-all fight between the two poets in the "Frogs" of Aristophanes? It reminds one of the American Tragedy in Main Street when the author of the former received a version of "He who gets slapped" from the creator of the latter.

In these days when Japan has developed all the symptoms of the imperialistic fever, the germs of which must have come in through the open door, it would be in order, Mr. Editor, to revert to Dialogue VIII of Lyttelton, which is one between Fernando Cortez and William Penn. The conqueror of 1519 lauds it over the Quaker and his "Holy Experiment," and the latter does not mince his words about the holy father's bargain, but the interview is salutary for the followers of both.

Time would fail me, as scripture says, to elaborate on this subject, but as Fontenelle declares in his introduction, "It may be supposed the dead are people of deep reflection, as well from their experience as their leisure," and, if we be too skeptical to observe All Saints' day in church, we at least require communion with the literary dead.

Yours for such,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

My Motherland in Chains

MY MOTHERLAND! My Motherland! In chains and sorrow she sits.
When will her bondage end? When will she be free,
So she may take her place once more among the world's illustrious nations?
The birds sing their song;
The stars burn their mighty message as of old;
But my heart breaks with sorrow for my native land,
For fettered are the millions of India.

To her God gave a message, a song,
Unsung by Greece or Rome,
Unsung by Europe or America or any nation.
But India cannot sing her God-given song
Until her people are free!
Alas! Although my country was once great and powerful,
A leader and a teacher of the nations,
Today she lies among the poorest and the most oppressed;
Her people are looked down upon and scorned by other peoples
Because they are subjects and vassals of foreign lords.

Still, still I trust that all is not lost,
For in my India today, as of old,
There are men made in the mighty mold,
Prophets, poets, patriots, heroes, servants of the truth;
And amid the world's enormous greed for gain
Her wealth of ancient wisdom yet remains.
Yes, India still has sages and prophets left her,
Who summon to the Mount of Calm a fever-smitten world.
But when, when will my beloved Motherland be free?
When will her bitter bondage end?

T. L. VASWANI.

Convictions and the Open Mind

By Phillips Elliott

ONE of the most severe demands made by the modern age upon liberal Christians is that the attitude of faith make room for the attitude of search. A poorly defined middle course must be followed between the old dogmatism and the new open-mindedness, and few there be that find the way. Under the strain, men gradually slip to one side or the other, and there are many former dogmatists who are now complete eclectics, and many sometime liberals who have been driven deeper and deeper into the ranks of the dogmatists. Not many have been able to reconcile the two demands.

The problem is perhaps most clearly seen by several excerpts from letters of liberal Christians. One is from a young woman and followed a talk on "Prayer" given at her lodging house:

> The one certain thing to hold onto is that nothing is certain: the one unchanging fact is that life is growth and therefore change.

The next is from a Christian association secretary:

> Because I look at life as a growing process, and the universe characterized by change, I have come to the position where I assert that the nature of religion is growth. The notion that the Christian revelation is final, that Christ is the absolute, the complete, in my mind has far-reaching consequences for ill that we are just beginning to realize. . . . And it's lots more fun for a college student to question, hear all sides, read, cogitate, form tentative, growing, changing opinions, feel the thrill of going on, than to "accept Christ as Savior" and to assume that growth in religious consciousness stopped for the human race with Jesus.

The third is from an instructor in a large university:

> We can, and by all the logic of an unfinished universe, will, either accidentally or by the pains of growing effort, come upon philosophies of life which far transcend that of Jesus, and possibly patterns of living that will be inconsistent with that taught by Jesus. . . . We are squirming our way through a maze, so to speak. The maze may have an end and a goal. "Does it?" is an improper question. Those who cannot even see the beginning to judge that there was a beginning, have indeed little right to make any bold assertions about an end.

On analyzing this attitude, one realizes that what has happened has not been so much a loss of conviction as a shift from one type of conviction to another. Convictions about particulars have been turned into convictions about vague and feeble generalities. We don't know whether God is personal, but we do believe in growth. We don't know whether Christ was the truth, but we do believe in truth as a general principle. For we must have a faith of some kind, and if the old beliefs seem no longer vital, then we seize upon some lifeless faith, and drain off our spiritual energies in the worship of futile abstractions.

For example, a faith in growth is of not the slightest value to anyone on earth. It is only when one talks of certain kinds of growth, of growth from something to something, that growth has any meaning. I may believe in the growth of children's bodies and may attach my interest to child welfare; I may believe that trees can grow, or that character can grow. And when I believe these things, I am getting back from an easy and useless conviction to one that is hard and useful—hard because it demands verification in conduct, and useful because society is bound to feel the impact of such a faith.

Faith in Abstractions

So with faith in truth in general. Such a conviction is valueless, unless it means conviction about truth in particular. Pontius Pilate was a seeker after truth in general. "What is truth?" he asked—and groped the misty heavens for an answer, but all the while, standing so near that he could have reached out and touched him, stood the figure of one who incarnated more truth than Pilate would ever discover in all the rest of his life. But Pilate wasn't interested in truth in particular; his faith was in truth in general. Equally valueless are the assertions of faith today in generalities which demand no impact upon life and which never weigh down the conscience with the sense of personal obligation.

Another way of describing this attitude is to say that it is an emphasis on method rather than on content. It has faith in a *way,* but shies from speculating about the *end.* The process is the whole of reality. A question about the purpose of the process is, as our correspondent states it, beside the point. We are to be diligent in a search, the only requirement being that we must never make a discovery. We search in order to search more, we grow in order to grow, we create in order to create—nowhere along the line is modern man allowed to stop, and like a butterfly collector with a new specimen, come running in exultant joy, shouting, "I've found something." We are a generation like that described by Paul in his second epistle to Timothy, "Ever learning and never able to come to the knowledge of the truth."

Cult of the Open Mind

To this result, the cult of the open mind is bringing us. It leads to the deepest skepticism regarding the possibility of man's either knowing anything or believing anything. Kant thought that man could never know things-in-themselves in the objective world; but this outdoes Kant, for while Kant believed that in the realm of values there was a firsthand and inescapable sense of conviction, our skeptics find even less possibility of certitude in the realm of values and faith than in objective knowledge. We wait for all the evidence to be in before making up our minds, and all the evidence will never be in. Our minds therefore can never be made up on anything, and we are condemned to a state of perpetual indecision. We may try some of these beliefs as tentative hypotheses, but they are doomed to failure, because

we know all the time that they can't yet be verified because the evidence isn't all in.

The redeeming feature is that the theory breaks down in the practice. No one can wait until all the evidence is in. No matter how much one may worship method, one can't use a method if there is no goal to use it for. In Professor Dewey's book, "The Quest for Certainty," he gives his theory of authority. "When I say 'authority,' I do not mean a fixed set of doctrines by which to settle mechanically problems as they arise. Such authority is dogmatic, not intellectual. *I mean methods* congruous with those used in scientific inquiry and adopting their conclusions." But no matter what Professor Dewey may *say* about method as the ultimate authority, he *acts* as though there are certain values fixed and eternal, upon which he is prepared to stand. I have never been able to find, either in Dr. Dewey's books or words, anything which can justify the stand he so consistently takes against militarism in education. To be consistent, he ought to have an open mind on war and peace, not knowing today just what attitude he would take on the question next Thursday. But he acts—and we are profoundly grateful for it—as if he believed that war is wrong now, will be wrong tomorrow, and will continue to be wrong to the end of time. And if some defender of Professor Dewey's says, "He is perfectly consistent. His authority is still one of method—the method is to abolish war," one can reply that the fundamentalist regards the theory of the substitutionary atonement as simply an authoritative method, nothing more.

Conviction Required

The sine qua non of action, individual or social, must be some conviction, either explicit or implicit. We do not reform a bad society, until we have a conviction about a good society. We may not like to use the word "ultimates," but to all intents and purposes, whenever man moves out in any form of action, he is expressing his faith in an ultimate. He is saying, "Here I stand, though the heavens fall. On this point I have struck rock and I can build."

Certainly this is the way we must get along in interracial and interreligious relationships. I have attended several meetings where Jews and Christians have talked over their differences and their similarities. Always, so it seemed to me, the cause of understanding was advanced more effectively when each man stated as clearly as possible his own convictions, and when there was no attempt to gloss differences by constant reference to the fact that we are all driving toward the same goal. The essential unity of truth emerges from definitely expressed and firmly held conviction rather than from over-courteous reticence. How greatly the understanding between Jews and Christians would be helped if only the Jews would show more proselytizing zeal, and would plant strong missions in Gentile centers! Where is the enthusiasm of Isaiah and Micah envisioning the time when all the human race should become Jews and Jerusalem should be the capital of the world? And by the same token the Christians, with their conviction about the nature of God as revealed in Jesus, must express at every point and opportunity this basic faith.

Possessing the Key

How then can we as liberal Christians hold to conviction and keep our minds receptive? We can by means of the doctrine not of the keys, but of the *key*. One does not have to possess all of truth in order to possess truth. One can have in a small portion of truth, the key to the whole. And once inside the door opened by that key, one is inside, and while there are vast areas still to be explored and discovered, we know the general outline of the country into which we have entered. There is ample room for growth, for change, for progress—but it all takes place in a category and in a direction which is for us the ultimate fact of life. Seen in this way God is best described in Professor E. S. Brightman's words, as "the changeless principle of change."

The key to the ultimate, the compass set for the right direction, is what we believe we have in Christ. In this sense Christ is final. He did not solve everything for us. He solved very few things. He simply showed men the setting in which all progress must take place. He caught the nature of the changeless principle of change. And when we say that it is our belief that at the center of the universe there is a God of love, we are in those simple words giving the key to the whole of truth. We do not expect to wake up tomorrow morning, or any morning, to find that fact reversed. To be sure, our children and their children will shame us with further insights into what the love of God means in the relationships of men. But the direction is given. We have reached the ultimate. Whatever truth comes now will be in that direction.

The Unlocking Key

Such a faith not only permits but necessitates the open mind. A world seen in such a light is a world to know about, to explore, to work in and to sacrifice for. It is a faith, at once general enough to be basic, and particular enough to inspire a definite kind of action in every detail of experience. It is a faith which avoids the danger of pious generality by giving a value judgment to all reality and it avoids the danger of narrow dogmatism by being deeper than any single aspect of it.

Jesus thus gives us finality. Had he proclaimed a segment of truth, he would be only one of those whom we revere, far down the ladder of man's spiritual striving. Instead, he gave a key, a key perhaps not among those given to Peter, but one which is given to us today. It unlocks the door to the kind of world we live in. It gives man a foundation for his faith. And for us in these confused times, the key by which Jesus opened the heart of reality, unlocks for us the dilemma of conviction and the open mind.

The Socialists Offer Norman Thomas

By Paul Hutchinson

STEADILY, the churches are swinging toward a demand for radical changes in the social order. A week ago the Southern Baptists adopted a social service report that had in it almost everything from economic justice for Negroes to tax relief by means of disarmament. At the same time the pope was praying for the salvation of mankind from greed. When you get the Southern Baptists and the pope both calling for social reform in the same week, you would seem to have both ends of the ecclesiastical spectrum —and the chances are that in that case you have most of the churches that lie in between, as well. As an indispensable prelude to the success of their spiritual mission, the churches have discovered that they must seek an end to the brutalities of a profit-seeking society.

Even more significant than this social restlessness of the churches has become the social radicalism of numbers of the clergy—particularly of the younger clergy. During the past year or two, while the tide of human misery has been rising, an uninterrupted procession of younger ministers has been seen, making their way into the socialist party, convinced that they have found there the agency by which to bring to pass the political end of the social reorganization they believe imperative. Reinhold Niebuhr, Sherwood Eddy, Frank Kingdon, Halford E. Luccock, Paul Jones, John Bennett, J. B. Matthews—the list might be greatly extended, but this will show its importance. The Fellowship of Socialist Christians, founded last year in New York, has grown so rapidly that its first members, unprepared for such a response, have not quite been able to keep up with the rush.

The Milwaukee Convention

In view of all these things I went to the national convention of the socialist party, held at Milwaukee, from May 21 to 24, with intense interest. Were these men, for whose minds and spirit I have such admiration, on the right track? Is this the party that will lead the nation out of the morass into which it has wandered? If so, what sort of party is it? And with what proposals does it come to the nation? Those were the questions I carried to Milwaukee; those are the questions I shall try to answer here.

Compared with the two major parties the socialists cannot make much of a showing when it comes to holding a convention. Even in Milwaukee, a city of half a million that has been ruled by a socialist mayor for 16 years, the attendance was small. At one Sunday evening mass meeting the municipal auditorium filled up fairly well, but during the business sessions—on Saturday afternoon and Sunday, as well as on working days—I doubt whether there were ever a thousand spectators present. Not that it matters much, one way or the other. The delegates probably attended more strictly to business in the absence of the whoopla and synthetic excitement that is so large a part of the big party meetings.

Capitalism's Power

There was one minor matter that struck me as a little incongruous. The program was arranged in a peculiar fashion—almost all the delegates commented on that, and some of them tried to change it. It provided that the convention, after just getting started at the work of platform building, should drop everything else at 1:30 Sunday afternoon to do its nominating. This meant, of course, that the candidates had to take the platform on faith; perhaps not so much of a gamble in a socialist convention, but still capable of producing some embarrassments. However, it was explained that this had to be done because the sound reels of the nomination could only be taken at that time, and the coast-to-coast broadcast offered the nominees would only be available late Sunday afternoon. Thus did capitalism show its power, even over a socialist convention!

There is nothing to be gained, however, by giving much space to such minor incidents. In four respects the convention impressed me as of importance, and accordingly it is to these four matters that I wish to draw attention.

The most important thing that the socialist party has to offer the United States just now, I am convinced after my days at Milwaukee, is its presidential nominee, Norman Thomas. Mr. Thomas, I am coming to believe, is the best informed, deepest thinking and most morally courageous political leader now playing a major role in our national life. He has a curiously two-sided approach to our political problems. On the one hand, he is a master of international and national issues in the large. Anyone who has heard him speak recently, or has read his two books, "America's Way Out" and "As I See It," must have been impressed with this. On the other, he has so specialized in study of the actual and devious nature of political devices in a single city—New York —that it is doubtful whether there is a professor of political science in the country who knows as much as he does about the way in which things are really done.

Norman Thomas

It is astonishing to see the extent of the hold which this man has on his party. His party, it must be understood, is a working class body. It has its intellectuals, but the overwhelming majority are manual workers—men and women who have learned in long hours at the factory bench or in the mine to view with considerable suspicion the man who has never

known the lot of the industrial toiler. Such people are always likely to oppose the attempted leadership of the intellectual. Especially quick are they to distrust one coming out of the background of clerical life, as has Mr. Thomas. But this man has swept away resistance. One lone delegate defiantly shouted "No" when the motion to nominate by acclamation was made. There was perhaps some value in that evidence of freedom of choice, but it was apparent from the start that the party had no one else in mind as a possible standard-bearer. It is in Norman Thomas's hands to be molded by him, if his life is spared, into just about what he determines.

Moral Courage

Now the magnificent thing about this leadership is that it has been gained without the slightest concession to expediency or playing to the party galleries. One beautiful illustration of this came at the Sunday morning session, early in the process of platform-building. Bear in mind that this was only a few hours before the nominating session; a time when most aspirants would think it judicious to cross as few of the coming ballot-casters as possible. Some delegate from California in a fiery speech moved to replace the phrase about "transfer" by compensation of basic industries to social control with one avowing it to be the party's purpose to "confiscate." Applause swept over the floor and galleries in a great roar. Other delegates—among them the noted New York columnist, Heywood Broun—hastened to second the motion. And then, suddenly, there was Thomas speaking! Confiscate? If that was what they really intended, let it read that way. But let there be no illusions; confiscation meant violence, bloody revolution, the communist path. Sentence by sentence he drove that convention into a corner where it had to do some hard thinking. When he had finished there were not twenty voices lifted in support of the proposal for which, fifteen minutes before, the arena had rung with cheers. But it took courage, both to do it just then, and to do it that way.

The New Generation of Socialists

It is in the leadership of a Norman Thomas that I think you find the reason for the second significant fact about the convention, namely, the emergence of a new and much younger type of delegate. Not all the delegates were young; not by any means. There were many who, on occasion, were ready to remind their hearers of the twenty or thirty years they had spent in the party ranks. But there were many young men and young women in delegates' chairs. And they were a high type. They smacked of the campus, many of them—the campus with postgraduate work on some strike picket-line. It is the fact that the socialists are enlisting young blood of this sort that gives their party a new potential importance surpassing its past.

That brings me to the third thing that makes this socialist campaign of 1932 important, the platform. Party members would undoubtedly put the platform ahead of everything else, but I write as an outsider. However, I am bound to say that I doubt whether any other platform to be proposed this year will offer anything like as genuine and constructive a dealing with the actual problems that now trouble us. Here I find federal unemployment relief to the amount of five billions; a construction program, including roads, reforestation, slum clearance and the like, of an equal size; the 30-hour week without pay reductions; minimum wage; compulsory unemployment insurance, old age pensions; health and maternity insurance; abolition of child labor; increased inheritance, income and estate taxes; an end to tax-exempt securities; socialization of power industries and banks; special aid for the farmers; additional protection of civil liberties; enforcement of laws governing the rights of Negroes; recognition of Russia; entrance into the world court; entrance into the league under a demilitarized covenant; debt cancellation after guaranties against having the money thus saved go for armaments; drastic disarmament; abolition of the R. O. T. C. and C. M. T. C., and more in the same tenor.

An Alternative to Prohibition

Of particular interest was the action on prohibition. Originally, the platform committee proposed to ignore that altogether, as a red herring across the trail to the economic issues which socialists believe paramount. But the convention voted that down, then voted down a wordy and confusing "referendum" resolution of a sort so popular in political ranks this year, and then, by the narrow margin of 80 to 77, adopted the following:

> The socialist party favors the repeal of the eighteenth amendment and the taking over of the liquor industry under government ownership and control with the right of local option for each state to maintain prohibition within its borders.

This is, of course, in line with socialist theory. Moreover, if it means, as I think it does, that this scheme of government ownership is to be voted on simultaneously with the proposal of repeal, it offers that definite alternative for prohibition without which an honest choice cannot be made by the voters.

But a curious fact about the democracy of the party comes out with this close vote. Because more than a quarter of the delegates voted against the plank it must now go down to all the locals for a full party referendum, and until this has been completed the plank will not be finally in the party platform. This process, it is estimated, will take seventy days. So that the socialists will not really know whether or not they have a wet plank until well along toward election day!

Inner Party Divisions

The last thing of importance at the convention was the evidence of the persistence of the old inner party struggle between orthodox Marxian theorists and the

group that is trying to make the party an immediate, vital factor in American politics. This came to a focus in an attempt to replace the chairman of the party's executive committee, Mr. Morris Hillquit of New York, with Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee. Mr. Hillquit won by an exceedingly narrow margin after an astoundingly bitter fight. It was revealing to see the arguments on which the Hillquit partisans depended for their victory.

On his own behalf, Mr. Hillquit derided the socialism of the intellectuals, of the younger "militants," and of the "practical" sort, holding up to especial condemnation the members of the party in Milwaukee, "who believe in building modern sewers and showing results right away." But Mr. Hillquit's principal supporters transferred the issue into the field of racial and religious prejudice, charging that the attempt to change chairmen was really an attempt to displace a Jew with a Gentile. Such a charge was, I am sure, unfounded. The worst thing about it was that most of those who made it probably knew it was unfounded. Nevertheless, they did not hesitate to use it. The incident seemed to me to tell a great deal as to the inner state of the party. As between Mr. Hillquit's winning by raising the cry of Marxian orthodoxy and his followers helping him to win by emphasizing the inner division between Jews and Gentiles, I confess that I found it hard to believe that this party is yet ready to make its appeal to great masses of American voters.

The socialist party enters the campaign with a great platform. I disagree with it, I think, at only one point, and even there I prefer its specific wet alternative to the vague and misleading phrases in which, if newspaper report is correct, the other parties are planning to indulge. The party has also a great candidate. Between the two, and aided by today's appalling conditions, it may be able to poll a vote of sufficient proportions to hasten that realignment of parties into conservative and something other that the health of our democracy so clearly demands. But there is a process of rebuilding within the party, now under way but far from completion, which must be carried much further before the socialists can hope to make their program intelligible or attractive to any controlling portion of our nation.

VERSE

Marriage of Minors

BROTHER and sister in this world's poor family,
Jack and Jill out of this gypsy camp of an earth,
Here is where the injustice is greatest
And you feel it obscurely,
And you have a right to storm within yourselves
And seek sanctuary in one another's shabbiness.
This boy and girl with all their abandonments and futility,
Folly and dereliction,
Whirled from ignominy to ignominy,
Condemned to all the wretched tasks of the community—
O tribute of forlorn humanity!
Come for his benediction whom they have blasphemed,
And somehow sense that they touch—what?
God, the Higher, all that they have missed:
Innocence and mercy and compassion.

Poor lad, scourged from humiliation to humiliation,
Pressed by dirt and danger, squalor and exhaustion,
And bred on blasphemy and the poison of men's bitter spirit,
And the maudlin imaginations of their lust;
Where else would it end but in this makeshift marriage?
And well may you storm within yourself, at the same time that you feel the awe of it.
God and the devil both have a hand in joining you,
And you are hardly at fault.

Poor sister in our earth's poor family,
Stupid and stupified and hallowed all at once,
Poor creature of poor moments,
Disinterested Eve,
How else could it come out but in this tumble at the first assault,
And yet God has put his finger on even this.

No bridesmaids nor flowers for you,
The groom hasn't given you these.
You come in an old coat.
One of the gang is best man and witness.
The boy minister goes through with it,
And there is no shower as you go out.
The sleigh waits outside in the heavy snowfall.
It is movie night in the village, and no one is about to catch you at the parsonage,
And so you go off in the blizzard to the West Side.
This is all the world gives you.

But Jeshua of the wedding-feasts haunts such occasions and understands you.
He can turn the water into wine and such shame and loss into gain
In some world some time.

Lucy Hanks bore Nancy seven years before her marriage feast.
Jeshua knows too well what the hells are, and the dumb wonderings and sicknesses of the soul,
And he is the only one that does know.
So endure these gusts and whirlwinds of the night until the morning break.

* * *

I heard the organ roll behind the snowfall and saw in it the confetti of the heavenly bride chamber,
Glimpsed the sons of the bride chamber rejoicing
In that city which is full of boys and girls playing in the streets thereof,
Before the Father whose face the angels of little children do always behold.

AMOS N. WILDER.

A Conversation About God

By Henry Nelson Wieman
Douglas Clyde Macintosh
Max Carl Otto

Sixth Cycle, Third Spokesman: Max Carl Otto

WE ARE to consider the feasibility of a God-less good life. To many persons the very suggestion appears thoroughly reprehensible. They regard any such project as a direct attack upon the foundations of civilized society. Faith in God is, in their minds, so absolutely inseparable, logically and psychologically, from any form of the good life whatever, that the idea of separating them seems unintelligent, unrealistic, and ethically indefensible. It is therefore desirable to guard against a possible misconception. There is no intention to minimize the personal or social significance of man's best aspirations, or to belittle his efforts to realize these aspirations in private and public conduct. The purpose is constructive, not destructive. A God-less good life is proposed in the conviction that it opens the way to a deeper, truer, richer life of the spirit than that associated with rival views. It is looked upon as the culminating stage in the assumption of human responsibility for human destiny in the best interests of humanity.

The Way of Progress

Step by step man has learned to substitute a non-theistic for a theistic technique in dealing with the physical aspect of things. More and more he has disregarded the incalculable so-called "final cause," God, and has studied and utilized calculable "secondary causes." As he has found it possible to do this, he has increased his power to exercise control over the conditions of his life, has been able to diminish suffering and to raise the standard of physical welfare. A similar process has operated in man's relation to social problems. Psychology, sociology, economics, law have increasingly aspired to discover in physical nature and in human nature, rather than in God, dependable agencies of social improvement. And experience seems to show that "social progress," as the eminent British economist, Graham Wallas, recently said, "can only be secured, and disaster avoided, by human thought and will."

All along the line this non-theistic development has taken place against resistance, sometimes against brutal resistance. And the point of resistance today is the province of what we may call the higher life, the province referred to in the schools as "the realm of values," the sphere of appreciations, ideals, and character. Inroads, to be sure, have been made even there. It is no longer doubted that what men desire, what they are driven to do, what they dream of achieving, how they discipline or fail to discipline the immediate promptings of their natures—that all these are related to biological inheritance, physical and mental health, economic opportunity, the impact of environment, public education, and the like, functions of life into which considerations of divine influence are not expected to enter. And much is being done in just these fields to raise the general moral level. Nevertheless, one of the most important spiritual conflicts of the time revolves around the question whether the kind of insight which has demonstrated its value in improving the mechanics of living, can with similar advantage be applied to the art of life.

Few beliefs are more widely adhered to than the belief that a generous disposition, ethical idealism, civic-mindedness, interest in spiritual growth, can be expected from none but those who count on the cooperation of God. For, according to this doctrine, there is no reason other than the will of God why men should devote themselves to the search for truth or goodness or beauty. And even if a reason could be found, men are too weak—so it is argued—when they are not too base, to meet the test of such devotion. They must be prodded and assisted from on high. Without God, we have been told, the logical position is a cynical, pessimistic, degraded attitude toward life. Without God, a courageous meeting of inescapable evil is impossible and life must go on without the sanctity of dedication to a great cause. Unless men are lifted out of "the muck of human impulse" and "the mire of human imaginings," unless they are inspired and guided by a power not of themselves, they must remain spiritually impotent. They may exploit the physical environment, they may surround themselves with triumphs of mechanical genius, but they cannot take charge of their own natures and direct their powers to higher ends.

Human Will as Motive Power

This is one of those traditional beliefs which manage to outlive the refutations of experience. "But men are better than their theology," said Emerson. "Their daily life gives it the lie. Every ingenuous and aspiring soul leaves the doctrine behind him in his own experience, and all men feel sometimes the falsehood which they cannot demonstrate." We have only to look about us to see that he was right. The idealizing momentum of human living is no less impressive than the sheer urgency to live on. In all walks of life inspiration and guidance rise out of inner human resources and elevate the level of hu-

man interests; not often, it is true, to the measure of great accomplishment, but often enough to a measure of greatness in daily tasks. "The drive of desire," as someone has said, "is the engine of living." Men desired before they made the acquaintance of gods and they do not stop desiring when they lose faith in gods.

The Vital Force at Work

And considering the question from another angle, what is it that causes men to lose heart and give up? Why is it that creatures whose very being is the will to live, deliberately put an end to living? Is it really deprivation of faith in God or in a transcendentally significant life which drives men to despair? Anyone who reads or observes knows that it is not. He knows that men give up the struggle because they despair of finding life meaningful in terms set by their natures. Disappointment in love, failure to get work, inability to hold up their heads in self-respect, recognition that the possibility of adventure is past—such are the reasons why men end their lives. Living or dying, a deep-going hunger inherent in human beings sends them on an active, resolute search for a better manner of living, materially and spiritually, whether they believe in God or not.

It is, I am convinced, man's natural discontent with imperfection, his innate bent for more significant living, his native persevering quest for the idealized object of his desire—it is this incurable spiritual aspiration which is the vital force at work in man's striving upward. It is this which lends the status of authority to creeds and formulas and programs and which calls gods into being as man's helpers. It is neither formula, creed, program nor faith in God which is back of man's desire to elevate his wants. Man himself is back of the desire.

Conspicuous Examples

Evidence of the growth of ideals out of natural human desire is thus everywhere about us: in the community where we live, in the street that runs by our door, in our homes, in our own hearts. And we can see the everyday idealism enriched and intensified in conspicuous examples, in those daring experiments in human betterment which history draws on its large canvas for all the world to see. Noguchi, for instance, and his passionate devotion to bacteriological discovery. Noguchi was born into a poor family of peasants in an obscure Japanese province. As a little child he crawled into a burning brazier and terribly maimed his left hand. When a school boy he caught fish at dawn, sold his catch in the early morning, ran errands after school hours, studied at night in the village bath-house where he tended the fire. Throughout his youth he suffered the ignominy of being maimed, poor, and queer because of his dedication to study. But from his early years he was dominated by the purpose of giving his life to bacteriology. Tirelessly, indomitably he followed the lure of micro-organisms, out into the great world, to America, to Africa, never surrendering to difficulty or hardship, until the yellow fever organism, which he had tracked to one of its last stands, killed him in Accra, four years ago.

And what of meeting death undismayed? Well, first of all, few people are called upon to undergo the ordeal of their own death. As a rule they are still planning to be alive when unconsciousness overtakes them, and when they die they know nothing about it. In his argument against the fear of death, Epicurus remarked that where you are death is not, and where death is you are not. Still, certain people are in a very real sense brought face to face with death and it is usually taken for granted that unless they believe in God and immortality it is a kindness not to mention their last hours. I have no statistical evidence one way or the other, but I am persuaded that if the evidence were obtainable it would show that a certain quality or temper in the person, more than any belief he holds for or against theism, determines his behavior in the expectation of death. I wonder whether a captain could tell by the behavior of soldiers under fire, who was a believer and who was not. And I wonder whether the confirmed criminal who walks with a firm step to his execution is sustained by faith in a loving heavenly Father or by the same psychic hardness, reckless nerve, and need for adoration which made a life of crime attractive. And as for bravely bearing the death of others, I have never witnessed greater fortitude than that of devastated hearts for whom there was no balm in Gilead.

Vanzetti and Socrates

The crucial test of how a man will meet his own end is reserved for one who is snatched by the powerful arm of the law out of active, sincere preoccupation with social reform and is condemned to die at a stated hour. And by this test Bartolomeo Vanzetti, who was not sustained in meeting death, or in the preceding seven years of inexpressible misery, by faith in God, but by the loyalty of friends and the vision of a social ideal for which he felt he was giving his life—by this test Bartolomeo Vanzetti will bear comparison with Socrates. Since we are considering the possibility of meeting calamity without divine aid, it may be well to recall the statement of Vanzetti when he was sentenced to die: "If it had not been for these thing, I might have die unmarked, unknown, a failure. Now we are not a failure. This is our career and our triumph. Never in our full life could we hope to do such work for tolerance, for joostice, for man's onderstanding of man as now we do by accident! Our words—our lives—our pains—nothing! The taking of our lives—lives of a good shoemaker and a poor fish-peddler—all! That last moment belongs to us—that agony is our triumph."

How people die is not so important as how they

live. There is no want of evidence that plain everyday people live significantly because they have the inner capacity to do so. More rare and more magnificent examples of personal achievement give testimony in support of the same truth. But another line of evidence remains to be added. Extraordinary spiritual achievement is possible for whole peoples without dependence upon a God for ethical guidance and moral energy. Doubtless during many ages tribes of early men struggled upward unhelped by the gods they had not thought of. The quest for a satisfying life is as old as man, while theistic faith is younger. And after the gods had come and were looked to as allies in the human venture, there were humanistic peoples, like the Greeks, whose vital interests bore a merely tenuous relation to the gods they officially recognized. Kipling touches on this theme in some recent verses:

In their deepest caverns of limestone
They pictured the Gods of Food—
The Horse, the Elk, and the Bison
That the hunting might be good;
With the Gods of Death and Terror—
The Mammoth, Tiger, and Bear.
And the Pictures moved in the torchlight
To show that the Gods were there!
But that was before Ionia—
(Or the Seven Holy Islands of Ionia)
Any of the Mountains of Ionia,
Had bared their peaks to the air.

The close years packed behind them,
As the glaciers bite and grind
Filling the new-gouged valleys,
With Gods of every kind.
Gods of all-reaching power—
Gods of all-searching eyes—
But each to be wooed by worship
And won by sacrifice.
Till, after many winters, rose Ionia—
(Strange men brooding in Ionia)
Crystal-eyed Sages of Ionia
Who said, 'These tales are lies. . . .

The Greek did not admit the necessity of a deity, a future life, a purely spiritual world in order that the enterprise of human living should have meaning and worth. Yet it is just the humanistic Greeks whose achievements in the domain of the spirit have been the seemingly inexhaustible source material for the God-fearing peoples who followed them. R. W. Livingstone makes this telling statement in his book, "The Greek Genius": "Greece, as we have said so often, stands for humanity, simple and unashamed, with all the variety of its nature free to play. The Greek set himself to answer the question how, with no revelation from God to guide him, with no overbearing necessity to cramp or intimidate him, man should live. It has been a tendency with our own age either to deny that heaven has revealed to us in any way how we ought to behave, or to find such a revelation in human nature itself. In either case we are thrown back on ourselves and obliged to seek our guide there. That is why the influence of Greece has grown so much."

And we must not forget the Chinese. "All the talk," a student of the orient wrote the other day, "about the loss of God leading to cynicism and despair makes me indignant. The whole history of Chinese culture is a sufficient reply. The cultivated Chinese has had neither God nor immortality to support him, yet there never was a people, not even the classic Greeks, who knew so well how to realize the joy of living, with neither cynicism nor despair."

Take Account of Russia!

And soviet Russia, with its vociferous anti-theism, must be taken into account. I have not been in Russia. The communism I have had contact with in the United States has depressed me by its cool ruthlessness and its disregard of human values lying outside the range of immediate material needs. But who can doubt that in Russia today dependence upon human intelligence and moral potentiality is creating a new type of civilization before our very eyes; a civilization that, whatever its limitations, is one in which a great mass of people is finding an opportunity for rare joy of personal achievement and a chance for the social investment of their desire to make life meaningful?

It would be speaking out of ignorance if I expressed satisfaction or dissatisfaction with the soviet conception of life. I quote instead two paragraphs written by Frankwood E. Williams, who, until a year ago, was medical director of the Mental Hygiene movement in America and is one of the movement's foremost authorities in the world. Dr. Williams has long seemed to me one of the keenest, most objective observers of the psychic life of our time. I quote from his article in the April (1932) Survey Graphic:

> What has happened in Russia is quite simple. They have got rid of God. They have taken upon themselves the responsibility of understanding and organizing their world. Getting rid of God means, of course, merely getting rid of God-priest ideology and all its supernatural ramifications—it in no way limits the potentialities of the individual for human fellowship. Murky-mindedness melts like snow before the sun.
>
> The revolution in Russia is essentially not industrial, but spiritual. The industrial side is merely an incident, a means to an end. It looms large at present and it is important, but behind it is something more important. Russia is probably the only country in the world today that has a significant spiritual life.

The particular ends put before men in these humanistic schemes of life may or may not be thought best by the critic of idealisms; that is not just now the issue. They show at any rate that man in and of himself can and does develop great conceptions of conduct, can and does devote himself to their realization with enthusiasm and sacrifice. They show that spiritual greatness is attainable through faith in man, instead of in a God who cares how man may fare.

For such reasons as those given in this paper and other reasons like them, it seems not only feasible

but essential to disconnect man's aspirational life from belief in God.

The number who have adopted this as a working hypothesis for themselves and are anxious to see it thoroughly tested on a larger scale, is growing. Even if there should be a God, have we not a right to assume that he would approve men's trusting the minds and hearts he gave them when he made them human?

The Conversation will be continued next week with Professor Wieman as the spokesman.

BOOKS

America Photographed

A PICTURE OF AMERICA. *By Charles Cross. Simon and Schuster,* $1.50.

DR. WILBUR, the secretary of the interior, seems to have stirred up the animals by the speech in which he attempted to persuade the social workers, at their Philadelphia convention, that the current state of affairs in this country is a blessing in disguise. But there is this much to be said for that thesis—things have come to such a pass that there is next to nobody left who does not avow the need for *some* sort of change.

It is when we begin to try to specify what the change should be that the trouble begins. Our knowledge of facts is too limited, our interpretation too confused to make it possible for us, as a nation, to arrive at a common program of remedial action. To get anything like intelligent, concerted action we need, therefore, some new method of making the facts (and the causes of the facts) of the present situation understood by Americans in large numbers. As one attempt in this direction Mr. Charles Cross—with the aid, one suspects, of that immensely inventive firm of publishers, Simon and Schuster—has produced a new kind of book. It is a tremendously effective attempt.

Taking a tip from the tabloids, Mr. Cross uses pages and pages of pictures, accompanied by a minimum of text, to show the industrial life of America as it has been. "A land of overflowing farms—but not enough food. A land of mighty industries—but not enough coats. A land of scientific marvels—but not enough jobs. A land with a great history—but with a depression every few years." Then the whole process of doing business is traced, photographed. Why do products that bring a national payroll of 25 billions, in a normal year, cost the consumers 70 billions? The camera supplies the answer.

Then comes depression, photographed; unemployment, photographed; the present situation: "As the camera's eye closes, a dim figure appears in the glass. He stands like a lone traveler lost in the middle of the road at night. He is the average American. He is bewildered. It is dark. There are three forks in the road ahead of him. He can just barely spell out the signs. He looks down each road, not knowing which to take." The three roads (photographed) lead to the factory, to a business, to the farm. All end in insecurity at least; perhaps in disaster. And that, too, is photographed.

Well, are there any ways of attacking the problem? There are. There is the way of capitalism, of fascism, of communism, and of socialism. Mr. Cross favors the way of socialism—the way of a society planned so as to balance production and consumption, with the motive of private profit eliminated. What an America built on such a society would be, and how it might be brought into being is also, to a surprising degree, photographed.

Mr. Cross has created so new a kind of book that ordinary methods of reviewing entirely fail to do it justice. If I could resort to photographs myself, and reproduce here one single page as a sample—say, for example, the page showing how the loaf of bread accumulates its retail cost of ten cents although its complete production cost is only three cents—I might make the unique value of the book clear. I can only say this; that by this combination of instantly-grasped pictures and almost equally clear text there has been produced a book that will make comprehensible to anybody practically all the important facts that all the important (and often heavily technical) economists have discovered about America. Whether readers accept Mr. Cross's conclusion is not of immediate importance. But that they should know and understand the facts on which his conclusion is based, is.

PAUL HUTCHINSON.

Gamaliel Bradford's Last Book

SAINTS AND SINNERS. *By Gamaliel Bradford. Houghton Mifflin Company,* $3.50.

ONE takes up Gamaliel Bradford's latest and last book with a sense of loss. This "naturalist of souls," to borrow one of his own book titles, has been, perhaps, the strongest force in America in bringing the biography into the realm of the best seller. In fact, Mencken, ably seconded by the New York Times, several years ago insisted that what Lytton Strachey developed in English biography, Gamaliel Bradford had for some years been achieving. In "Lee the American," "Confederate Portraits," "Union Portraits," "Damaged Souls," "Life and I, an Autobiography of Mankind," "As God Made Them," "The Quick and the Dead" and other of his upwards of twenty volumes, Bradford has studied and painted the human soul.

It is not merely because "Saints and Sinners" is his last that one senses the longing for a satisfying faith that breathes through his words as he puts Saint Francis of Assisi, Thomas Kempis, and Fenelon before us. Bradford's charming bit of confession of how he and his betrothed would have chosen poverty for the good of their souls explains his sympathy with Saint Francis. There is pathos in what he says of their letting their ideals go. In the discussion of the life of each saint there is the same haunting desire for a belief in God sure enough, strong enough, to leave no room for doubt. Often apparent grasp upon a spiritual reality is loosened with a doubting word, a reminder that this is the twentieth century, that we cannot find refuge in the beliefs of the past. The chapter on Fenelon, however, ends with a question that is a high spiritual affirmation.

A "naturalist of souls," Bradford has studied the four "sinners," Caesar Borgia, Casanova, Talleyrand, and Byron, with the same closeness of observation, the same intent effort to find "the moving why they do it" as with the saints. What he says of the tendency of the youth of today to proclaim its sacred right to indulge its instincts, he puts against the back-

ground of the Borgias, with a bit of clever irony at the expense of the Freudian principle of untrammeled self-expression.

Bradford's references to D. L. Moody, more than a half dozen, are of especial interest in their recognition of Moody's power, "an American Francis, seven hundred years later."

LAURA BELL EVERETT.

Books in Brief

NEW TENDENCIES IN TEACHING RELIGION. *By Harold J. Sheridan. Abingdon Press,* $1.25.

Another of the Abingdon religious education monographs, a series that is linked together mainly by the forthright speaking of its various authors. All who are in contact with what is going on in church schools know that new methods of instruction are emerging; the shortcomings of the old methods have forced that. But the demand for the new has, as would be expected, produced a number of experiments of doubtful value. Professor Sheridan makes it his task to choose between the worthy and the unworthy, bearing in mind always the fact that it is in terms of religious influence that worth is to be determined.

KITCHEN SONNETS. *By Ethel Romig Fuller. Metropolitan Press, Portland, Ore.,* $1.50.

Mrs. Fuller is not the "ivory tower" kind of poet, escaping from unpleasant realities into a selfish retreat high above it all; nor is she one of the Greenwich Village brand, which group seems to take most delight in making poems out of ugliness. She is content to live the life of average people, as a busy housewife and good neighbor, and most of her poems grow out of that life. For her, even "Doing Dishes" has the charm of romance. Her practical philosophy is expressed in the first lines of her "Scope of Kitchens":

> "Who talks about a kitchen's narrow scope,
> Its menial tasks, has never stopped to think
> What wonder-roads are worn from stove to sink,
> What loveliness emanates from soap. . . . "

But Ethel Romig Fuller doesn't spend all of her time over dishes. She finds time to tend her garden, and to motor over mountain roads—as is indicated by the lovely poems in her earlier volume, "White Peaks and Green."

A CENTURY WITH CHRIST. *A Story of the Christian Church in Richmond. Disciples Centennial Committee, Richmond, Va.*

The final separation of the movement led by Alexander Campbell from the Baptist church took place about 1830. Two years later an exodus of 69 members from the First Baptist church in Richmond, Virginia, led to the formation of the first congregation of followers of Mr. Campbell in that city. The denomination has played a large part ever since in the life of the city, and the state of which it is the capital. This volume, prepared in commemoration of the first centenary, gives a sketch of the growth of the Disciples movement as a whole, and detailed accounts of the history of each church in the city.

CORRESPONDENCE

Guns or Grasshoppers

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Evidently the majority of our congressmen have greater fear in their hearts of an invasion by a mythical human enemy (or perhaps the soldier vote) than of a real enemy now threatening large areas here in the northwest, namely, the grasshopper plague. A short time ago the house of representatives refused even to discuss a bill, already passed by the senate, appropriating over a million dollars to aid in fighting the hoppers. A few days later the members of the house fell over one another to add five million dollars to the committees' army supply bill "in the interest of defense."

Gardar, N. D. S. S. JOHNSON.

A New Subscriber

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Here is a new subscriber for you. He is the manager of our local theater! I recently clipped the film estimates for the last two months from The Christian Century and took them in to him. He was much interested and said he would like to get them regularly and inquired the price of the magazine. I offered to turn mine over to him weekly and explained that he could probably get the estimates in some other magazine which would interest him more than a journal of religion. He said, "I'd like to read it" and handed me four silver dollars. So you have at least one theater manager on your subscription list.

From him I learn that there is a growing sentiment among the independent exhibitors against the evils of blind booking, block booking, and the system of "protection" by which the small town and neighborhood theaters are forced to let the big city houses show the new pictures first. Our local manager frequently pays for films under the block booking system which he never shows because he does not consider them worthy. Even the better pictures he often censors personally and takes the blame for having a poor machine from people who do not know that the blotted out sections are intentional.

This is a railroad town and is not especially noted for its piety. The response of the public to the better pictures has demonstrated again in box office receipts your contention that people will support worthwhile pictures if given a chance by a manager whom they can trust.

Tracy, Minn. FRED M. SMITH.

A Canadian View

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: It was with feelings of amazement that I read in The Christian Century for May 11 your comment on the verdict against the Massie group in Honolulu. You approve of the recommendation of leniency because of "the powerful provocation under which they acted." And at the end of your comment you express the hope that the governor of the islands or Mr. Hoover will pardon all four. As the sequel has shown they have been set at liberty after serving sentence of *one hour.* No wonder the administration of justice in the United States has earned the contempt of the civilized world! No wonder lynching continues when such a paper as The Christian Century condones it (for the act of the Massie group was just that) and hopes all will be pardoned. No wonder criminal lawyers like Darrow can work upon the emotions by silly talk about "the unwritten law" and "honor slayers."

Toronto, Canada. CHARLES HERBERT HUESTIS.

Armenian Religion Under the Soviets

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I want to call the attention of your readers to an item which appeared on May 17 in the weekly bulletin of an Armenian

Congregational Church in America. The item is in Armenian, a translation of which follows:

"We had only two ordained ministers in Armenia, and a few licensed preachers. Among these Rev. Vahan Michaelian held the highest position on account of his education, experience and ability. Mr. Michaelian was exiled (by the soviets) for four years in the north of Russia, on the coast of the White sea, one of the worst places of exile (in that country). We are not surprised, though we are very sorry, to learn that, not being able to stand the physical and mental suffering of his exile, he has finally entered into his eternal rest. In announcing his death our correspondent writes from Persia: 'It is an irreparable loss to the churches of Armenia.'

"The only other ordained minister, whose name we cannot here mention for obvious reasons, was also exiled. In regard to him our correspondent gives us the following sad news: 'He fell under a trolley car and both legs were cut off. When his wife was notified of the accident, she suffered a stroke. Several months after (he recovered) he was allowed to go back to his home in his native city. But three hours after his arrival his wife died. The government has exiled also Mr. ———— (one of our licensed preachers). (Soviet) Armenia is no paradise at least for men who have spiritual aspirations. That much is certain."

From this your readers may draw their own conclusions. But my conclusion is that the soviets are not the kind of saints that they pretend to be to the American tourists. Those who are capable of treating saintly men in this way are nothing but devils in human form. I think we have carried our reconciliation dangerously near compromise with evil, forgetting that "the friendship of the world is in unity with God." I hope you will excuse me using such strong language, for I cannot help it; my heart goes out to those saintly men of God, preaching the gospel under the fire of persecution, and their people, the churches of Armenia.

Goldenbridge, N. Y. JOHN B. GRANT.

That Eastern Methodist Report

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I deeply regret that my good friend C. Newman Hogle, has rushed into print to tell the world, through The Christian Century, that the New York East conference is made up of men who adopt reports which they do not believe, who sleep through the voting on important questions, and who permit a small group to make pronouncements in the name of the conference. In other words, they are either sluggards or hypocrites. Personally, I do not so believe; and in spite of his letter, which seems clear enough, I am slow to think Mr. Hogle intended to convey that impression.

The facts in regard to the report in question are these:

1. In order to give opportunity for full consideration and discussion, the conference program, (which was mailed to each minister the week before conference convened) carried the announcment that the social service committee would hold an open hearing on its report the night before conference opened to which all the ministers were invited.

2. This program also notified every conference member of the day and exact hour that the report would be presented.

3. The printed report was in the hands of all the members present before it was read by the chairman of the committee.

4. It was adopted without a dissenting vote.

Mr. Hogle is right when he says that "the report was passed without a single comment." This was unfortunate, but the proponents of the report were not to blame. Why should they waste the time of a busy conference session to argue for a program that was not opposed, or defend a report that was not attacked?

Surely every member who listened to the reading of the report with a printed copy in his hand was in a position to know its contents. If anyone did not agree, he had this chance to say so; and if he wished more time to prepare his objections he could have moved to postpone consideration until the following day, and the conference undoubtedly would have so ordered. No one "greased the parliamentary ways" for the vote on this report, as The Christian Century editorial charges.

The New York East conference stands for freedom of speech. No one wants the gag rule. There is no disposition on the part of any group to railroad anything through; and anyone who is familiar with the personnel of the New York East conference would know that any steam roller procedure would end in a bunker. It is inconceivable that a report to which there was any considerable degree of opposition should be adopted without a word of protest.

Mr. Hogle does his conference a great injustice when he says this report was "only the pronouncement of a small group who were not taken seriously by the rest." If I felt that our conference could deal so lightly with issues of such vital importance in our social and economic life, I should seek at once for new associations where men meant what they said. The fact remains that the report was adopted in a regular session without a single negative vote. It is, therefore, the official action, not of a small group, but of the New York East conference.

And yet after all, was it "just another pronouncement that means nothing"? If so, then The Christian Century was justified in the use of such strong language as "pernicious practice" and "ethical devastation." But the only evidence Mr. Hogle offers to substantiate this very serious charge against himself and his associates in the New York East conference is the response to the question "Are you willing to take the lead in drastic reform to prevent future depressions?" which was part of a questionnaire sent out to members of the conference by the committee on the state of the church. As he reports, there were 95 replies—55 said Yes, and 40 said No. Please note that nearly 58 per cent of the answers were in the affirmative; and I can conceive of some of the forty in the minority who, though unwilling "to *take the lead* in drastic reform" might still consistently vote for this social service report and support its program.

Jamaica, N. Y. LESTER WARD AUMAN.

Armament Sophistry in the Senate

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A confused, distracted congress and country, largely harassed on the one side by lobbyists and partisanship, on the other by irate taxpayers and warnings from President Hoover, are confronted with the most preposterous naval bill ever presented to a people facing a colossal deficit. At a time when millions of Americans have spent all their savings; when every welfare agency is facing an almost empty treasury and the financial collapse of our European debtors looms in the near future, an audacious senator has pushed through the senate a bill which pledges the country to spend in the next few years nearly a thousand million dollars to create a bigger navy! His sophistry is that "A war may at any time be forced upon us."

How many taxpayers realize that the 35,000-ton battleship which Senator Hale desires to continue, when other nations greatly want to diminish tonnage, costs not only its original $40,000,000 but will ultimately, after upkeep and all expenses are paid, have cost $250,000,000 when it goes to the discard?

Said one of the most important international experts in this country, "I would not have a cut made in anything until congress had cut $250,000,000 from the army and navy appropriations." This is what common sense demands. By a strange twist of reasoning Senator Hale tells congress that to start a portentous increase of our navy would strengthen our position at Geneva. To the mind of honest folk, the way to strengthen our position at Geneva is a display of our own purpose for disarmament. The passage of the Hale bill by the senate was a defiance of Mr. Hoover's condemnation of the Vinson bill for $600,000,000 to build up to parity at this time of imperative economy and the president plainly tells us that there will be no return to prosperity unless armaments are cut.

Boston, Mass. LUCIA AMES MEAD.

Dr. Shillito Returns Home

Comments on Methodists, Cleveland, Chicago, Springfield and Drop in Mission Budgets

(*British Table Talk*)

MADISON, N. J., May 28.—Cincinnatus was the Roman statesman who when his term of office was over was found at the plough. By that he lives in history. When I tarried for a brief and profitable three days in Atlantic City I found a strong conviction abroad among the Methodists in conference there that their bishops should be like unto Cincinnatus. When they ceased to do the work of a bishop, they should go back to the plough, or in other words, become members once more of their local conferences. There were no signs that the quadrennial conference of the Methodists either desired to do without bishops or were distrustful of the bishops themselves. On the contrary, the bishops were treated with respect and affection. But if the impressions of a visitor have any value, I could not help detecting a widespread desire that the office of bishop shall still remain an office, which a Methodist is selected to fulfil. When his task is over, he is a bishop no more but a Methodist preacher. It would be unjust for a visitor to take sides in the debates at which he was present; the conference lasted a month and he was there three days, but both in the discussion of the reduction in the number of "bishop's residences," and of the amendment to define the bishop's standing after retirement, I must report that I detected the Cincinnatus touch.

* * *

Atlantic City Continued

The Methodists in conference seemed to me to be attempting an impossible task, and if they did not do it completely, that is not so surprising as the fact that they did so much. That a company of more than 800 keen and gifted delegates, gathered from an area as large as a continent and with many variations of experience and many clashing needs, should discuss in detail and with such freedom all the affairs of a vast church every four years, would appear an impossible task. But there is always in such an assembly an element lacking in a purely political assembly; there is a faith shared by the members, and in this case the family feeling which is peculiar to the Methodist people. They differ, but in the circle of the family.

The speakers, to my English ears, were amazingly eloquent, all of them. (Are all Americans eloquent, Mr. Editor?) They could speak with brevity and pith, and with the occasional touch of unction which, as Lord Morley used to say, a great speaker ought to have.

I was grateful for my experience in Atlantic City. I certainly can picture now better than I could what a deliberative American assembly is like, and if at times I heard the machinery clank, I reminded myself that the assembly met only every four years.

Clearly there are differences in administration between the Methodist church in Britain and that in America. Three can be named without any attempt to decide on which side the advantage lies. The Methodists in Britain (of which I am not one) have retained three things in the Methodist tradition, which I am told are not kept in America. The payment of a common ministerial stipend, with certain local variations, not of a serious kind. The visitation of local preachers. The class meeting; though it must be admitted that this has not the place which it once had, it is by no means obsolete.

* * *

Other Pleasant Memories

The churches of Cleveland used their years of prosperity in building with the splendid audacity of the great builders of the past. It was my privilege to preach in one of these churches, the Epworth-Euclid church, in which I found a people, without doubt a living church. From Cleveland I was taken on one delightful day to see Hiram college, and as the fates

(*Continued on page* 750)

TO OUR SUBSCRIBERS

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We desire that our readers shall not miss a single issue, and while we will gladly make any change of address requested, we are sure the risk of irregularity is greatly reduced by the plan we suggest.

In requesting change of address, subscribers will help us by observing the following suggestions:

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Publishers,
THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY.

Methodists Cut in All Directions

Demand for Economies Brings Reductions in Every Department—Church Rituals Altered

(*Special Correspondence*)

ATLANTIC CITY, May 25.—The general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church which ended its quadrennial session here today made a record of retrenchment not equaled in a Methodist generation, if ever. Back of its economizing temper was a three-year slump in practically all of the church's finances. Deficits and unbalanced budgets showed in the reports of the benevolent boards, the book concern, the episcopal fund, and in the expense fund for the conference itself. This last, by the way, was disposed of with alacrity and without debate; authority was given to the book concern to borrow the necessary $60,000, so that the delegates should get their expense checks before adjournment. It was hoped that adjustments in ratios and other fiscal expedients will assure the repayment of the obligation during the next four years.

With such a financial showing, the delegate who ventured to plead for any cause which involved money was rash to the point of foolhardiness. Among the economies of the closing days was the abolition of that elaborate joint promotion agency which has served the Methodist benevolent boards from 740 Rush street, Chicago, under the name of "World Service." A world service commission does indeed survive, but it is merely a supervising body, with no staff and no promotional functions. These are left to the several boards, with some suggestion that they may find ways of cooperation among themselves.

Church Papers Reduced

Of the various Christian Advocates, three are eliminated; the Northwestern at Chicago, the Pittsburgh, and the Pacific at Portland, Ore. The Northwestern's territory is to be served by the paper published at Kansas City, Portland from San Francisco, and Pittsburgh from New York. This drastic action on the Advocates came out of the vigorous struggle of the southwest to retain a paper at Kansas City. The purpose of the conference being unmistakably to effect a reduction in the Advocate list, most people assumed that Kansas City would be merged, probably with Chicago. But the champions of Kansas City were so united and aggressive that they succeeded in getting their city named with Cincinnati, New York and San Francisco as the home of one of the four papers decided on. Chicago tried to get itself substituted for Kansas City, but without avail.

There is more than a touch of absurdity

HENRY FORD ON UNEMPLOYMENT

I HAVE always had to work, whether any one hired me or not. For the first forty years of my life, I was an employe. When not employed by others, I employed myself. I found very early that being out of hire was not necessarily being out of work. The first means that your employer has not found something for you to do; the second means that you are waiting until he does.

We nowadays think of work as something that others find for us to do, call us to do, and pay us to do. No doubt our industrial growth is largely responsible for that. We have accustomed men to think of work that way.

In my own case, I was able to find work for others as well as myself. Outside my family life, nothing has given me more satisfaction than to see jobs increase in number and in profit to the men who handle them. And beyond question, the jobs of the world today are more numerous and profitable in wages than they were even eighteen years ago.

But something entirely outside the workshops of the nation has affected this hired employment very seriously. The word "unemployment" has become one of the most dreadful words in the language. The condition itself has become the concern of every person in the country.

When this condition arrived, there were just three things to be done. The first, of course, was to maintain employment at the maximum by every means known to management. Employment—hire—was what the people were accustomed to; they preferred it; it was the immediate solution of the difficulty. In our plants we used every expedient to spread as much employment over as many employes as was possible. I don't believe in "make work"—the public pays for all unnecessary work—but there are times when the plight of others compels us to do the human thing even though it be but a makeshift; and I am obliged to admit that, like most manufacturers, we avoided layoffs by continuing work that good business judgment would have halted. All of our non-profit work was continued in full force and much of the shop work. There were always tens of thousands employed—the lowest point at Dearborn was 40,000—but there were always thousands unemployed or so meagerly employed, that the situation was far from desirable.

When all possible devices for providing employment have been used and fall short, there remains no alternative but self-help or charity.

I do not believe in routine charity. I think it a shameful thing that any man should have to stoop to take it, or give it. I do not include human helpfulness under the name of charity. My quarrel with charity is that it is neither helpful nor human. The charity of our cities is the most barbarous thing in our system, with the possible exception of our prisons. What we call charity is a modern substitute for being personally kind, personally concerned and personally involved in the work of helping others in difficulty. True charity is a much more costly effort than money-giving. Our donations too often purchase exemption from giving the only form of help that will drive the need for charity out of the land.

THE unemployed man is every one's concern, Henry Ford says — most of all the man's own concern. Being unemployed does not need to mean being out of work. There may be work even though one may not be hired to do it. Mr. Ford begins today a discussion of Employment, Charity and Self-Help as the three courses open to us in present conditions. He does not believe in routine charity because, he says, it is neither kind nor helpful. It does not get under the load or tackle the cause. He describes here a method he has followed. In the next issue of this publication he will discuss Self-Help.

Our own theory of helping people has been in operation for some years. We used to discuss it years ago—when no one could be persuaded to listen. Those who asked public attention to these matters were ridiculed by the very people who now call most loudly for some one to do something.

Our own work involves the usual emergency relief, hospitalization, adjustment of debt, with this addition—we help people to alter their affairs in common-sense accordance with changed conditions, and we have an understanding that all help received should be repaid in reasonable amounts in better times. Many families were not so badly off as they thought; they needed guidance in the management of their resources and opportunities. Human nature, of course, presented the usual problems. Relying on human sympathy many develop a spirit of professional indigence. But where co-operation is given, honest and self-respecting persons and families can usually be assisted to a condition which is much less distressing than they feared.

One of our responsibilities, voluntarily assumed—not because it was ours, but because there seemed to be no one else to assume it—was the care of a village of several hundred families whose condition was pretty low. Ordinarily a large welfare fund would have been needed to accomplish anything for these people. In this instance, we set the people at work cleaning up their homes and backyards, and then cleaning up the roads of their town, and then plowing up about 500 acres of vacant land around their houses. We abolished everything that savored of "handout" charity, opening instead a modern commissary where personal I O U's were accepted, and a garment-making school, and setting the cobblers and tailors of the community to work for their neighbors. We found the people heavily burdened with debt, and we acted informally as their agents in apportioning their income to straighten their affairs. Many families are now out of debt for the first time in years. There has appeared in this village not only a new spirit of confidence in life, but also a new sense of economic values, and an appreciation of economic independence which we feel will not soon be lost. None of these things could have been accomplished by paying out welfare funds after the orthodox manner. The only true charity for these people was somehow to get under their burdens with them and lend them the value of our experience to show them what can be done by people in their circumstances.

Our visiting staff in city work has personally handled thousands of cases in the manner above described. And while no one institution can shoulder all the burden, we feel that merely to mitigate present distress is not enough—we feel that thousands of families have been prepared for a better way of life when the wheels of activity begin turning again.

But there is still another way, a third way, so much better than the very best charitable endeavor that it simply forbids us to be satisfied with anything less. That is the way of Self-Help, which I shall discuss in the next issue of this publication.

Prepared and paid for by the Ford Motor Company as a contribution to public welfare.

in the outcome, for the Kansas City paper will be printed in the book concern's plant at Chicago, and mailed from there. A Chicago man, Dan B. Brummitt, was elected editor, and he will be expected to move to Kansas City, and set up his office 500 miles away from the place of publication! As a sop to the patrons of the discontinued editions, inserts will be permitted from the centers thus deprived of papers of their own. Claudius B. Spencer, after a career of 32 years as editor of the Central Christian Advocate, retired before the storm of retrenchment broke over the editorial heads. The only other change of editors was the choice of Orien W. Fifer as editor of the paper published at Cincinnati, in place of Ernest C. Wareing.

Reduce Bishop's Salaries

After the conference had reduced the allowance of the commission on world peace from $15,000 to $3,000, it cut $3,000 out of its appropriation to the Federal council, and ordered a fairly general cut in official salaries. The bishops were reduced from $7,200 to $6,000, with allowances for house rent, travel and secretarial help. Other salaries, though not all, were cut by boards and other agencies at the direct suggestion of the conference.

An election of large importance to the whole educational work of the church was that of President Frederick C. Eiselen of Garrett Biblical institute, to be secretary of the board of education, in succession to William S. Bovard, who did not seek reelection.

A commission on the revision of the church's ritual reported, and its work was approved. The changes made by this commission, while relatively few, are significant. The marriage ceremony, for instance, has been freed of a phrase not always tending to edification: "With my worldly goods I thee endow"; and no reference is made, either to the institution of marriage "in the time of man's innocency," or the wedding feast at Cana. The challenge and warning to the congregation and the principals touching possible impediments to the marriage are deleted. In the burial service the "words of committal" have lost all suggestion of "earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust," and there is nothing said about the resurrection of the body. Some will miss these and other familiar passages, though their vanishing is real gain.

Bishop Hughes to Washington

By the retirement of Bishop William F. McDowell, Bishop John L. Nuelsen of Zurich, Switzerland, becomes the church's senior ecclesiastic. But he will be in Europe most of the next four years, so that Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes, now assigned to Washington, will act in those church affairs which custom has assigned to the bishop longest in office.

One of the last actions of the conference was its adoption of a searching and definitely radical report on the present economic situation. Dr. Ernest F. Tittle of Evanston, Ill., made sure of its adoption when he told the conference that every delegate should, and many would, be ashamed to return home if on the last day they rejected an utterance at once so Christian and so imperatively demanded by the present state of things in American life.

India Churches in Good Will Move

Plan Mission of Spiritual Fellowship to Britain—National Congress Will Not Meet—India's Next Step

(Correspondence from India)

NAGPUR, May 1.—The conviction which found expression in the Jerusalem meeting of the International missionary council, that the time had come when the younger churches of the so-called mission field might share with the older churches of the west the treasures they had found in their common Christian faith is now taking concrete form in a mission of spiritual fellowship which the churches in India, Burma and Ceylon are sending next autumn by special invitation to the churches of Great Britain. The mission as now constituted will consist of Bishop J. S. C. Banerji, the recently consecrated assistant bishop of Lahore; Dr. A. M. Varki, the head of Union Christian college at Alwaye, the only Christian college in the whole of India established and run by Indian Christians; Rev. A. Ralla Ram, secretary of the Student Christian association of India and Miss Nyein Tha of Moulmein, Burma. The mission will spend three months in England, arriving in mid-September and leaving for India in mid-December. The committee in Great Britain responsible for helping this mission in its work has decided to concentrate in a few selected centers, and in these centers to bring the message of the mission to bear on the various interests of church life and activity.

* * *

National Congress Prevented From Holding Session

Some weeks ago, when the home member of the government of India from his seat in the legislative assembly declared that the national congress had not been declared illegal, hopes were raised in some quarters that a meeting of the national congress, if planned to be held, would not be banned by government. Under the ordinances all its committees and activities are declared illegal. Nevertheless, the statement made by the home member that the congress itself had not yet been declared illegal was considered as perhaps the beginning of an era of better relationship with the most influential political body in India. Encouraged by this official assurance Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the only member of the late working committee of the congress now out of prison, who assumed the presidency of the congress on her return from South Africa whither she had gone as a member of the government of India delegation to carry on negotiations regarding the disabilities of Indian settlers, announced her intention of holding a session of the congress in Delhi. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was offered the chairmanship and he accepted it. A reception committee was formed in Delhi to make arrangement for the holding of the session. Delegates were elected from various provinces to proceed to Delhi. The government, however, decided to declare the reception committee illegal; orders were served on Mrs. Sarojini Naidu not to proceed from Bombay to Delhi and also on Mr. Malviya not to go to Delhi from Benares, the place of his residence. Delegates to the congress who started from various parts of the country for Delhi were intercepted by the police and either arrested or sent back. Mrs. Naidu and Mr. Malaviya decided to disobey the orders served on them, with the result that they have been arrested, tried under the ordinance and awarded terms of imprisonment. Several hundred persons were arrested in Delhi and other places, either for attempting to hold a meeting of the congress or attempting to travel to Delhi to attend the meeting.

* * *

The Next Step In India

A question that is often asked is, "How long is this rule by ordinance to continue?" The officials claim that the ordinances are needed to prevent India from drifting into anarchism. But whatever the official assurances, there is no doubt that the relations between the government and the people are strained as they have perhaps never been before. The severity of the repressive measures is alienating the good will of the people and promoting feelings of sullen discontent. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, a prominent member of the round table conference, and not a congressman, said recently: "The bitterness has increased ten-fold, and suspicion and distrust of government is not peculiar to congress, but shared by non-congressmen." Even those who at first approved of the introduction of ordinances, under the conviction that they were an urgent necessity, are now beginning to be uneasy and asking themselves whither they are really leading. The dual policy which the government claims it is pursuing, in India, of repression and reform, has hitherto yielded disappointingly small results in the matter of reform, but alarmingly disproportionate results in the way of taking away the legitimate rights and freedom of action of the people.

P. O. PHILIP.

Ohio Churches Petition Convention Delegates for Dry Plank

The Wooster, O., ministerial association has inaugurated a plan whereby, through the official church agency, the Ohio council of churches, petitions have gone out to every Protestant minister in Ohio, urging a dry plank in the platforms of the parties soon to meet in convention. These petitions will be signed by members of the churches, and then mailed to all republican and democratic delegates to the Chicago conventions. The statement of the petition is as follows: "Recognizing the widespread need and the increasing demand for law observance in America, and the evident progress made in recent months in the enforcement of our national prohibition laws, we respectfully request the Ohio delegation of the (name of party) in convention assembled at Chicago, Illinois (convention date), to support and vote for a dry plank in the convention platform that will definitely pledge the party to a more effective enforcement of the Eighteenth amendment and the Volstead law."

Bishop Waldorf Comes to Chicago

Succeeds Bishop Hughes, Transferred to Washington—Church Celebrates Ninetieth Anniversary

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, May 30.—The general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, which has just closed its sessions at Atlantic City, made several decisions affecting Methodism in the Chicago area. Bishop Edwin Holt Hughes, the able and respected administrator of this area, has been appointed to the Washington, D. C., area, and has been succeeded by Bishop Ernest L. Waldorf, of Kansas City. Bishop Waldorf has been continuously in charge of the Kansas City area since his election to the episcopate 12 years ago. He is highly regarded and will be welcomed here. The elimination of one-half the Christian Advocates published in the country involves the discontinuance of the Northwestern Christian Advocate, published in Chicago, of which Dr. Dan B. Brummitt is editor.

* * *

Memorial Day

Again Memorial day has come around, and the thoughts of the people turn to those young men who, in the joy and flush of youth, laid down their lives in all the nation's wars. It is said that a larger number of patriotic groups are participating this year in services and in the decoration of veterans' graves in the various cemeteries all around the city than ever before. The culmination of the day's commemoration will be the great parade down Michigan avenue. One wonders what is the actual effect upon the mind of impressionable youth of the military form which this very appropriate day of memory takes.

* * *

Garbage as Food

This is something very hard to write. Indeed, I can hardly bring myself to set it down on paper, but it is a bit of terrible evidence that must be submitted. West of Lyons, a Chicago suburb, is one of the great city dumps. It is a noisome, foul-smelling place where daily the garbage of the city is emptied and burned—a local "gehenna." In driving past it one always holds his breath as long as possible. Last Tuesday afternoon, in company with a group of friends returning from Elgin, I drove past this dump and saw a sight which I had been told might be seen, but which I had scarcely believed even remotely possible. The garbage wagons had arrived from their daily trips through the city's back alleys where the contents of garbage cans had been dumped into them, and now it was being poured in a slimy, smelly mass on the dump. But as it poured out of the wagons a group of about twenty men and boys were grubbing through it in search for food. On the edge of the dump, living in a tattered tent erected there, was an incredibly dirty family, among the members of which was a baby boy about the age of my own. Since Tuesday I have made some inquiries, and I am told by persons who must know the facts that similar sights are to be seen at every dump around the city, and that many families are dependent upon what they can salvage there for any answer to the prayer, "Give us this day our daily bread." Could there be any more tragic and horrible evidence of the pitiful inadequacy of present relief measures than this? And even present relief is to be gravely cut.

* * *

Trinity Episcopal Church Celebrates 90 Years

One of only three churches remaining in a neighborhood once occupied by more than a dozen of the city's strongest and most fashionable churches, Trinity Episcopal, at Michigan avenue and 26th street, celebrated its 90th anniversary a week ago. Trinity's first meeting place was a saloon in the rough frame downtown district of the nine-year old pioneer village. A beautiful stone edifice in Jackson boulevard where the Illinois theater now stands housed the church until the great fire of 1871. The present location was once the center of the most aristocratic neighborhood in the city; but all that is now vastly changed. However, old days were recalled and present service emphasized at this celebration. The Very Rev. Frederick C. Grant, president of Western theological seminary, a former rector of Trinity church, preached the anniversary sermon. Rev. John R. Pickells is the present pastor.

* * *

Family Relief to Stop June 5?

If the announced purpose of the Illinois Emergency relief commission to discontinue family relief activities in Cook county on June 5 is carried out we may look for a greatly increased number of persons reduced to the terrible necessity of scratching through garbage for food. The announcement was made last Friday that lack of funds would necessitate the closing of the 46 family relief stations which have been disbursing aid at the cost of approximately $100,000 a day, chiefly in wages to unemployed heads of families for work done in the forest preserves and parks. The shelters for unemployed men and women will be kept open until July 1.

* * *

And So Forth

Rev. A. T. Boisen, who has made a significant contribution to psychiatric technique as chaplain at the Worcester (Mass.) state hospital for the insane, particularly in bringing the resources of religion to aid in the cure of mental and emotional maladjustments, has been added to the staff of the Elgin state hospital in a somewhat similar capacity. Dr. Reed, head of the hospital, entertained a large group of ministers at lunch last Tuesday, to give them an opportunity to meet Mr. Boisen and to become acquainted with his work. Important cooperative activities may come out of this conference. Mr. Boisen also serves as research associate on the faculty of Chicago theological seminary.

The wets are making strenuous efforts to get "wet" planks into the platforms of both parties which will hold their conventions here next month. The papers, naturally, are full of it. But the drys also are active, and are planning a "loyalty convention" to be held here June 10-13, four days preceding the republican national convention.

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Hold Impressive Peace Parade

But New York Newspapers Pay Little Attention—Cardinal Praises Jewish Charity

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, May 28.—The peace parade last Saturday was a real success. In fact it was the most impressive manifestation of outright war resistance this city has seen since the days of 1917-1918. It was well organized and went off without a hitch except that the police insisted on re-routing it from 23rd street bringing it clear up to Eighth avenue rather than along Madison avenue as the original permit called for. This action was taken on the grounds that merchants along the original line of march had protested. Whether this was the real reason or merely a rationalization of those who don't like the mounting anti-war sentiment is somewhat of a question. But in spite of the less public line of march there were thousands to see this parade and lead the banners calling for the total abolition of war.

More than a score of organizations took part and there were between two and three thousand men and women in line. It was good to see that many prominent clergymen were there and willing to show their devotion to peace by walking nearly three miles in the blazing sun. At 59th street the parade ended with a mass meeting where thousands of people were addressed by well-known war resisters. These speeches were of an unusually high order, many in the crowd commenting that they were the best that they had ever heard on this subject. The only disappointment in connection with the whole demonstration was the poor publicity it received in the daily papers. One felt that it was deliberately played down.

* * *

Cardinal Hayes Praises Jewish Philanthropy

The chief speaker at the dedication of Irvington house, a Jewish home for cardiac children, last Wednesday was Cardinal Hayes. In his address the cardinal pointed out that the Jews do more in this field than the Protestants or Catholics and he went on to say that "Not only do the Jewish people give greater care to their afflicted needy, but they do not stop at that, they reach out to the sick of the other religions." This new home for cardiac children has cost a half million dollars and is the result of the generosity of Mrs. Louis S. Levy. Thus far this institution has actually served more Catholics than Jewish children.

* * *

Lutheran Friars to Preach on Streets

At the annual convention of the United Lutheran synod of New York in session here this past week it was decided to start outdoor preaching in the large cities of this state. This street preaching is to be done by "Friars" clad in clerical robes and is to be somewhat similar to the work done by the monks of the middle ages.

* * *

Y. M. C. A. Lays Cornerstone For Negro Center

There were impressive ceremonies at the laying of the cornerstone for the new home of the West 135th Street Y. M. C. A. last Sunday afternoon. This new building, located in the heart of the Negro community, is to be completed in the fall and will be the largest building in the world for Negro young men and boys, and one of the most completely equipped Y. M. C. A. buildings in the country. The laying of the cornerstone was preceded by a parade in which many Negro organizations participated, and among the speakers was Police Commissioner Edward P. Mulrooney, who spoke in praise of the work of the Y. M. C. A. in curbing juvenile delinquency. The cornerstone was laid by Cleveland E. Dodge, president of the Y. M. C. A. of the city.

* * *

To the Poor the Poor Are Kind

Never has the old adage that the poor are kind to the poor been better illustrated than in the recent action of some of the employes of the Emergency relief bureau. When shortage of funds a few days ago made it necessary to drop many employes who had been securing relief employment during the past winter, about 40 employes in the clothing relief division pledged themselves to contribute 5 per cent of their weekly wages to a relief fund for the former clothing division workers who had been unable to find any other work. Anyone at all familiar with the way in which the needy are helping the needy is this present crisis cannot fail to find his faith in human nature deepened. It is the answer to an all too cheap cynicism about the basic instincts of human beings.

* * *

Professor Swift Pleads for Righteous Indignation

Professor Swift, of Union theological seminary, was the preacher at the Park Avenue Presbyterian church last Sunday and he sounded a note which needs to be struck more often. In speaking of the present crisis and the corruption uncovered in this city and others he pointed out that nothing can be done to remedy it unless there are individual men and women who are capable of righteous anger. The real shame of this city is this lack of righteous indignation. But this righteous indignation can come only out of righteous souls who have really known God.

EDMUND B. CHAFFEE.

Many Denominations to Meet in Ozark Conference

The third annual conference of the Ozark interdenominational committee of the Home Missions council will be held at Presbyterian Hill, Hollister, Mo., in the "Shepherd of the Hills" country, June 28-30. There will be addresses by Rev. W. R. King, Rev. Roy B. Guild, Rev. J. Robert Hargreaves, Rev. Hermann N. Morse, and many others. All Christian workers in the Ozarks are invited to attend. Inquiries should be addressed to Presbyterian Hill Station, Hollister, Mo.

Germany's Status Still Uncertain

Future Moves Difficult to Predict—Troubles of the Nationalists—Peace in Halle Theological Battle

(Correspondence from Germany)

HALLE, GERMANY, May 8.—The political situation in Germany has become no clearer despite the fact that elections are over. President von Hindenburg has been reelected, and a number of German states have replaced their parliaments, but no one party was victorious, and it is still uncertain what combination of parties will obtain eventual control. For instance, in Prussia the nationalist parties did not get the majority which many anticipated for them, and cannot rule. On the other hand, the present system must discontinue since the national-socialists alone received more votes than the social democrats and Catholics together. So that either the nationalists or the present government need support in order to form the new Prussian government. The nationalists may come to an agreement with their antagonists, the Catholic party; the present system may continue in power by relying on the communists. But either combination presents many difficulties; for up to now the nationalists and Catholics have been severe foes, and the communists will hardly prove dependable partners since they will make use of the first opportunity to endanger the social-democratic cause.

Once more it seems to have been proved that parliamentarism, at least in its present form, does not work in Germany. Therefore it may be necessary to rely again on the famous paragraph 48 of the German constitution which leaves the possibility for extraordinary political measures, if the ordinary methods are inefficient. Just what such measures would be this time, is very hard to forecast.

* * *

Nationalist Troubles in The Memel Church

The comparatively small Memel territory is one of those wounds along our eastern frontier which were left open by the Versailles treaty, and which are still raw because of frequent probing. Lithuania, rivaling with her Polish and Latvian neighbors in nationalist adventures, has been on the watch to take possession of that former part of Germany.

Politically they have not been very successful. The new Memel parliament, which had to be elected after the former one was dissolved, has again only a small Lithuanian minority, so that the German parties, according to ordinary parliamentary rules, should be able to master the situation. But precisely here lies the difficulty, since it is more than likely that the Lithuanian government will continue the attempts to strengthen its influence in the Memel territory by arousing frequent political disturbances.

In the Protestant church also the Litha-

anian government is steering a narrow nationalistic course. Only ministers trained at Kaunas, the only Lithuanian theological faculty, are allowed to preach in Memel congregations. Formerly Memel theologians have received their training in Germany, and since the majority of inhabitants in that territory are German-speaking it is natural that this habit should continue. Also there is an agreement dating from 1925 that the Evangelical church in the Memel territory and the Evangelical church in Prussia should maintain their present relationships. Moreover, the church in Lithuania appears to be unable to fill the vacancies in her congregations, so that one might suggest that it care for itself before interfering in the Memel situation.

* * *

Minister of Education Gives In to Halle Students

The warfare around Professor Dehn's professorship on the theological faculty at Halle has finally subsided, but only after the Prussian minister of education appointed a new professor of systematic theology who will lecture at the same time on topics of practical theology, so that the students have a choice between Dehn and Schumann, the new professor from Giessen. The peacefulness that attended the opening of the summer semester was a welcome surprise; the Halle students did not repeat their efforts to get rid of Dehn, nor did they desert their alma mater Halensis as they had announced they would before the end of the winter semester. The recent elections for the Halle student parliament showed a tendency away from radicalism, the nationalsocialists having only 13 candidates elected from a total of 26.

While the conflict in Halle seems to be settled, the theological discussion continues. After all, Dehn stands not for himself alone but for a part of a very influential theological movement which is led by Karl Barth, who is not on very good terms with the nationalist theology. Thus practically all theological journals contain discussions about the claims of the Barthians and those of the nationalists whose leaders are such men as Althaus and Rendtorff. In the church conferences also the same conflict rages. In fact the chief problem of German theology today is the question of nationalism.

* * *

Liturgical Ceremonies of The Freethinkers

The freethinkers do not believe in Christianity, but they seem to feel the need of ceremonies similar to those practiced by Christian organizations. "Dedication of the Youth," as performed by the organizations of the freethinkers, is an almost religious affair, and as such is comparatively old. Long before the war the more faithful followers of the freethinking gospel brought their 13 and 14 year old children to the dedication of the youth which took the place of the very popular confirmation of the German Protestant churches. After the war, with the increased membership among the freethinkers, dedications of youth also became more numerous. However, even in a city like Halle which is known for its socialist and communist population, only one out of every 14 young people who left school in 1932 was dedicated by the freethinkers; the other 13 were confirmed.

Recently in the neighborhood of Magdeburg the freethinkers arranged a wedding ceremony of their own, a ceremony with all the accompaniments of a similar Christian one; music, recitations, speeches, etc., but replacing the Christian meaning of the procedure by something more worldly, as is also done in the dedication of the youth. Special baptismal functions are used also; these are called "dedications of the children" and differ very little from a Christian baptismal service.

It may be added that the freethinkers have been organized in three different groups: the proletarian freethinkers who sympathize with communism (their organization was dissolved by the German minister of the interior just a few days ago); the freethinkers among the socialists who are the most numerous group, and of course more moderate; and the "free-religious" group who stand for little more than tolerance.

SIEGFRIED SCHARFE.

Two Denominations Seek to Organize "Free Church of America"

Announcement is made that definite preliminary steps have been taken by commissions of the Unitarian and Universalist churches to organize the "Free Church of America," as an aid to extending by united action a program of religious liberalism in this country. The new church would provide an opportunity for other liberal religious groups and independent churches to enter into a "working fellowship." Each denomination would keep its own name and organization, but the elimination of duplication would be sought. The commissions have been at work on the plan for six months. The plan is an enlargement of the original proposal to merge the Unitarian and Universalist churches; the present proposal looks toward cooperation in church extension, in social amelioration and reform, and in recruiting a larger number of able men for the ministry. The plan is to be presented for the consideration of the conventions of the two communions. Among the members of the commissions are Dr. Louis C. Cornish, president of the American Unitarian association; Dr. John Howland Lathrop, of Brooklyn, and Dr. Frank D. Adams of Detroit.

Dr. Bowie Says Nation Should Honor War Objectors

Speaking on Memorial Sunday at the unveiling of a tablet in memory of 11 members of his congregation at Grace Episcopal church, New York, Dr. W. Russell Bowie said he looked forward to a time when the names of conscientious objectors to war would be honored in the same way: "What we need is not a glorification of war, but a new dedication of ourselves to the moral struggle which shall put an end to war. It may be that after another war the church of Christ will inscribe upon its tablet the names of those who have gone to Leavenworth as conscientious objectors to war, doing it then with an even larger vision and with the same spirit with which she now inscribes the names of her soldier dead, because they followed what for them was the way of duty to the end."

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Elect Tulsa Pastor as Moderator

Dr. Charles W. Kerr Leads Presbyterians—Efforts to Repudiate Federal Council Fail

(Correspondence from Denver)

DENVER, May 28.—Dr. Charles W. Kerr, pastor of the First Presbyterian church of Tulsa, Okla., was elected moderator of the Presbyterian general assembly on the third ballot. He received 277 votes on the first ballot as against 198 for Dr. J. A. Vance of Detroit; 193 for Dr. Dirk Lay of Sacaton, Ariz.; 126 for Dr. David D. Burrell of Williamsport, Penn.; and 118 for President William H. Johnson of Lincoln university. There was a sharp swing to the three leading candidates on the second ballot and an overwhelming majority was given to Dr. Kerr on the third ballot.

The vote for moderator is an accurate indication of the drift of the assembly. Dr. Burrell represents the militant fundamentalist effort to "smash the machine." He received a far smaller vote than he did last year. There are many rumblings of discontent in regard to the general council, which is a small administrative group which directs the affairs of the Presbyterian church, U. S. A., between assemblies, but Dr. Burrell seems to have mustered the full strength of this movement on the first ballot for moderator. There was an effort to put Dr. Alexander Alison, jr., Bridgeport, Conn., forward as the dark horse candidate of this group for moderator but apparently Dr. Alison saw the drift of the assembly and did not even permit his name to be presented.

Liberals Keep Quiet

Dr. Vance was the only candidate who was satisfactory to the liberal group, but he could not muster enough strength to make a real bid for the moderatorship. Dr. John McDowell, secretary of the National Missionary society, has introduced a real note of social liberalism but no clear voice has been raised thus far by a theological liberal. If any are present, they must have received and accepted the type of advice which the old lady gave her minister, "Let us hope that we are not descended from monkeys, but if we are, let us say nothing about it."

Dr. Kerr is a fundamentalist but gives primary emphasis to his religion rather than his theology. He is presiding in a very gentle and wise manner. He is numbered among the administrative group because of service on the general council. This group is controlling the actions of the assembly. Dr. Kerr started his work in his present field more than thirty years ago when Oklahoma was still a part of the Indian territory. He has had experience as a home missionary among the Indians and pioneers. He has built up his church from a frontier mission of 75 members to a great city congregation of more than 3,000 members worshiping in a beautiful church structure. Dr. Harry C. Rogers, who nominated Dr. Kerr, said that he was so sound in theology that even the horse of his early prairie ministry was named John Calvin.

Dr. Truett Moves Hearers

The pre-assembly conference on evangelism was an outstanding success this year. Dr. George W. Truett, of the First Baptist church of Dallas, was secured as the major prophet of this conference and more than justified his selection. He performed the very remarkable feat of drawing theological circles which shut some out and then drawing other and wider circles of vital religion which drew everyone in. Belief in "all the miracles," the virgin birth, predestination, substitutionary atonement, and other specified articles of conservative theology were crammed down all throats. Dr. Truett did not make some like his theology but he did make everyone admire him and determine to serve his God with greater zeal. He told more sad tales than some wished and yet everyone found it difficult to keep from reaching for a handkerchief along with fully half of that dignified and sedate Presbyterian assembly as Dr. Truett finished his final address in a blaze of pulpit oratory of compelling sincerity and overwhelming power.

The thought which ran through the conference was that evangelism is an activity and an emphasis which should run through the whole church year rather than being centered in a few special meetings. The necessity for pastoral evangelism, supplimented by personal work by ministers and laymen, was continually voiced. Considerable credit for the success of the conference is given to Dr. W. F. Klein who has recently undertaken his work as secretary for the division on evangelism.

Dr. Mudge Scores Isolation

Dr. L. S. Mudge, the retiring moderator, took the theme of his message at the opening session of the assembly from the celebration of the birthday of Washington. He recalled the greetings which were exchanged between Washington and the first general assembly of the Presbyterian church. The major points of his sermon on "The Church and the Nation" were that the church founded the nation, fostered the nation, and must determine the future of the nation.

"We must give our nation to Christ for our nation's sake. We must give our nation to Christ for the world's sake because of our present lawlessness, our abiding complacency, and our attempted isolation."

Dealing with the last point Dr. Mudge said, "Isolation from the rest of the world has long been our normal policy. We need to be aroused to the fact that isolation is impossible to us practically and wrong for us morally. We need to realize that our proper attitude toward the League of Nations, the world court, the Hague tribunal, peace treaties and disarmament conferences and the like should be not how much we can keep out thereof but how much we can give of help therein."

Stand by Federal Council

The only battle thus far resulted from the effort to sever relationships with the Federal council of churches. When the report of the finance department was presented, an amendment was offered which provided for the approval of all items on the budget except the amount for the Federal council. After a short but sharp debate the vote was taken which adopted the budget including the Federal council item. The real battle was, however, only postponed until Monday, when the matter of affiliation with the Federal council will become a subject of debate through the report of a committee of the general council.

The recommendation will be that the church continue its relationship to the Federal council but ask that no reports of any committee of the council shall be published as an action of the council unless they have been approved by the administrative committee. Dr. Mark Matthews and other leading conservatives are reported to be unwilling to support the objections of the militant fundamentalists to the Federal council and it looks as though their efforts would be crushed by the administrative steam roller which has defeated them upon every occasion. In short it appears that the great majority of the general assembly have faith in their constituted leadership.

VERE V. LOPER.

Northern Baptists Meet in San Francisco Next Month

"Shall We Be Christians?" is the question the Northern Baptists are to ask themselves at their convention in San Francisco, July 12-17. There will be forums on special phases of this subject such as "Shall We Be Christians in Our Home Life?" "Shall We Be Christians in the Family of Nations?" "Shall We Be Christians in Obedience to Law?" "Shall We Be Christians in Our Industrial Order?" Among the addresses scheduled are: "America and the New Americans," by Rev. W. G. Everson, Denver; "The Challenging Christ," by Rev. H. B. Benninghoff of Japan and Rev. T. J. Villers of Portland, Ore.; "The Sovereignty of Service," by Rev. E. A. Fridell of Seattle, Wash. Rev. George W. Truett, of Dallas, will give a series of devotional addresses. Mattison B. Jones of Los Angeles is president of the convention.

Reformed Church Reports Financial Losses

The income of all the boards for missions, education and Sunday school work and ministers' relief of the Reformed church, for the past three years, was as follows: 1929, '30: $911,236; 1930, '31: $882,819; 1931, '32: $695,803. This is a loss of about 23 per cent in two years. The Reformed church observed the centennial of its board of foreign missions at the meeting of the general synod held at Kingston, N. Y., the first week of June.

Dr. H. T. Kerr Urges "Loyalty to Individual Work" as Need

Speaking at the commencement meeting of the alumni association of Princeton seminary, May 17, Dr. Hugh Thomson Kerr of Pittsburgh appealed for a revival of loyalty to individual men and women: "It is by genuine personal and localized labor that we may hope to bring in the kingdom of God, rather than by conferences and committee meetings." Dr. Kerr's announced theme was "The Ministry for an Age Like This."

Peace Sentiment Grows in South

Dr. Hudson of Harvard Brings Hopeful Message—Baptists in Financial Hole —Gov. Roosevelt Honored

(Correspondence from Atlanta)

ATLANTA, June 1.—Dr. Manley O. Hudson, Bemis professor of international law at Harvard, in a recent address before the University of Georgia institute of public affairs, declared that the recent crisis in the east with the sentiment aroused by Japan's actions, clearly pointed to the fact that a new world-consciousness against war is arising. Dr. Hudson said: "For the first time in history an attempt was made over a long period of time to deal with an international crisis by common action. It is significant that Japan and China have not refused to go to Geneva to talk, they have not defied world opinion expressed in the league, they have not quit in a huff. Surely for the future this is a most valuable precedent. If a prospect of war has not disappeared from our international scene, one must say that we have made indisputable progress in our attempt to keep the world's peace."

Your correspondent gives it as his deliberate judgment that this section was never so alive to vital peace talk and so responsive to organization and promotion of peace movements as at the present time. Atlanta witnessed a striking demonstration of peace sentiment by the students of the city schools on May 18, when 1,500 persons assembled for the reception of the international good-will broadcast. Children and young people of the public and private institutions from the grades through the universities united in a fervent expression of their faith in the possibility of a warless world. What they think and do is important, for who could have more to do with the next war than they?

* * *

Columbia Holds 104th Commencement

Columbia theological seminary (Presbyterian) held its 104th annual commencement exercises on May 11, when a class of 11 members was graduated. All members of the class have been placed in pulpits or places of service in the church, so well have Southern Presbyterians judged the relationship between supply and demand in the ministry.

But this leads to the observation that Baptists in the south have had a different experience. The "unemployment problem" in the Baptist ministry in the south is becoming steadily more critical.

* * *

Baptists Seek Emergency Mission Fund

The Southern Baptist convention created a special mission relief committee at the St. Petersburg meeting and the group held their first meeting here last week. Dr. J. B. Lawrence, executive secretary of the home mission board, is chairman and the heads of the other boards and state organizations, with the president of the southern convention, compose the committee. A campaign in the south for $300,000 for immediate missionary relief has been launched. Of this, $190,000 will go to the support of foreign missions and $110,000 to home mission work.

Dr. Lawrence pointed out that unless this amount of money could be raised during the June and July campaigns in the southern churches the missionary programs would collapse.

* * *

No Beer Parading Here

Atlanta witnessed with mingled surprise and gratification the deliberate refusal of Mayor James L. Key, recent target of a powerful recall movement which failed, to participate in Mayor Walker's folly of street-parading in behalf of drink. Mayor Key said he opposed such methods of prohibition reform.

Gov. Roosevelt Departs From Georgia Home

Gov. Franklin D. Roosevelt, to whom Georgians seem to be conceding the democratic nomination, ended a three-weeks' vacation at his country home at Warm Springs, last week. He returned to Albany with the usual echo of southern acclaim in his ears and an honorary degree from Oglethorpe university, Atlanta. The New York governor delivered the baccalaureate address at Oglethorpe May 22, advising the graduates to "go out and remake this world."

* * *

Dr. Niebuhr Spelman College Speaker

Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr of Union seminary delivered the baccalaureate sermon before the graduating class in Sisters' chapel of Spelman college, leading Atlanta institution of higher learning for Negroes, Sunday, May 29.

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Sees Great Race in the Making

Recent A. M. E. Conference in Cleveland Was Constructive—Laymen Now Official Delegates—Finance

(Special Correspondence)

CLEVELAND, O., May 25.—To Cleveland was given the distinction of entertaining the 29th general conference of the African Methodist Episcopal church. And what a conference it proved to be! Let me warn the connoisseur of religious gatherings that his education is incomplete except he has witnessed one of the great Negro bodies in action. From the opening session when the bishops' address was read by Bishop W. Sampson Brooks until the final adjournment there was not a dull moment in the proceedings. Emotions, at times, clouded vision, and the ambitions of individuals to be heard interfered with orderly procedure but the sympathetic visitor put these things in their right place. He saw a great race in the making.

The conference and its delegates were well pleased with Cleveland. The meetings were held in Woodland Center where a social work for Negroes is maintained by the Presbyterian churches of Cleveland. The delegates and alternates were entertained in the home of Negro churchmen. This prevented any clashes at hotels which have sometimes been precipitated in Negro gatherings. There was but one session held downtown. The municipal auditorium was used for the pageant "Bound for the Promised Land," in which 1,500 local Negro singers participated.

* * *

Laymen Appear as Official Delegates

Four years ago at Chicago general conference, conference legislation gave the right of lay representation in the body. This year, for the first time, laymen appeared as delegates. There was still one goal they hoped to reach. They wanted representation on the episcopal committee which is the real governing group in the church. Led by an Indianapolis attorney, F. B. Ransom, an organized lay group led a heated but unsuccessful fight for representation on this important committee.

The influence of the group was felt, however, and it was probably the agitation in the early days of the conference which hastened the trials of three of the bishops of the church on the charges of malfeasance. In this African church the bishops still handle a great deal of the money contributed for the various causes. The conference was suspicious that funds contributed did not always reach the right destination. As a result of trials before the episcopal committee the conference suspended two of its bishops, William T. Vernon and Joshua H. Jones. Bishop Vernon's accounts showed a shortage of some $10,000; Bishop Jones' was nearer $15,000. In the case of a third bishop, W. T. Johnson, the conference refused to vote suspension. Bishop Johnson admitted the shortage but stated that the money was used to relieve sufferers in the Mississippi flood area and he agreed to make restitution. The conference granted him mercy and sustained him in office.

* * *

Urge Prohibition Oppose War

Social pronouncements are not as important in this conference as some others. But the body arose with cheers when a report urging continued prohibition was read. According to this report, "Negroes have had more food, better homes, sent more of their sons to college during the prohibition era than ever before."

War was labeled "unchristian and barbarous," birth control and companionate marriages were condemned. A protest was made against the unfair discrimination of labor unions in refusing to admit Negro workmen on the same terms as white.

* * *

Depression Deeply Felt

The Negro churches have suffered because of the business depression. Property in Philadelphia, which housed the book concern, has been entirely lost to the church. Its value is placed at $100,000. There is some question about the title of certain Nashville, Tenn., property which houses the A.M.E. Sunday school union. The various publications of the denomination reported in each instance deficits in financial management. Missionary funds were likewise depressed.

* * *

New Bishops Elected

The election of bishops is interesting in any Methodist general conference. But it has unusual color in the African church. These people take their campaigning seriously. For blocks about the place of meeting one sees banners urging the election of this candidate or that. Floor demonstrations are staged during the conference to present the appeal of a favorite son. Singing, prayer and shouting punctuate these demonstrations with emotion and enthusiasm. Three new bishops were elected and duly consecrated. They are Rev. Noah W. Williams, pastor of St. Paul's church, St. Louis, Rev. David H. Sims of Allen university, South Carolina, and Rev. H. Y. Tookes of Tampa, Florida.

Efforts to reduce the salary of bishops and general officers as a means of economy were not successful. Bishops will continue to receive an annual salary of $4,800, the financial secretary $4,000 and the general officers $3,600. Reports to the conference showed that the A.M.E. church has 7,315 ministers and 7,390 churches. The past decade has been one of definite growth in membership and power.

WILLIAM H. LEACH.

Dr. Poling, Closing Allied Drive Looks Toward Future

Calling attention to the fact that he would resign as chairman of the Allied Forces for Prohibition on June 6, in accordance with his statement of his purpose made to the executive committee of the National Temperance conference on May 20, 1931, Dr. Daniel Poling reports that he looks back at the achievements of the nine months' campaign through 600 cities with satisfaction: "Every goal has been reached and the results surpass anything that could be foreseen. More than one and one-half millions of men and women have been enroled by personal signature and more than 1,000 local units of voters and 'allied youth' have been organized." The effect of this campaign has been shown, he says, in the primary elections. In spite of the depression it has been possible to balance the budget; there is no deficit. It is Dr. Poling's hope that "eventually the unity of the dry forces may be so vitalized that the National conference or the National board of strategy may become our residuary legatee." In the meantime, continuing leadership will be provided for the local units and for the hundreds of thousands of new recruits. Dr. Poling will continue as a member of the executive committee, and will give the whole program his utmost support, but he will now give his primary attention to his own regular activities, which have been neglected for 10 months. He expects "an outstanding business man" to succeed him as chairman of the Allied Forces.

BRITISH TABLE TALK

(Continued from page 742)

ordained it, the day was Sugar day in that college, one of its festivals. On that day the seniors entertain the college in ways meant to do honor to the maple-syrup industry of the district. I can still remember the evening when to a little Yorkshire village my father brought the news that Garfield was dead; and if we never attained to the white house, it was not because we did not read and admire the story of Garfield. It was a memorable experience to be where his old home stood and to hear some of the memorabilia of his life.

Not only in the steps of Garfield was I led, but in those of Lincoln for during one never-to-be-forgotten weekend I was able to visit Springfield, Illinois, and Salem. Lincoln belongs to the ages and to all mankind. But there was something for which I shall always be thankful in the sight of the memorial and the house in Springfield, and of the log huts still left at Salem. This pilgrimage was taken under the guidance of friends who have been in the heart of the Lincoln tradition.

* * *

Changing Chicago

I saw Chicago in 1926. But that is a very long time ago; too long, if a visitor wishes to keep pace with the changes in that city. I have always loved Chicago and I love it still more. I am not the Englishman who asked his Chicago host if he might be taken to see (at a safe distance) one of the famous shootings. There are more important things to be seen. That wonderful facade along the side of the lake; the new towers in the city which seem to put the old ones in their right perspective; the university which has been transformed since I saw it; the parks and boulevards and churches and synagogues, all are fascinating. With them now are the new buildings designed for the world's

fair. Of these as architecture I am unable to speak, but they are exhilarating in their defiance of tradition, and they are being built simply to do their own job, and since this job is largely a new thing, it may be that it demands a new use of material. I can well imagine what an Arabian Night's picture that lake shore will present next year.

But Chicago introduced me to many circles of delightful friends, and to long and animated talks. I saw a little of the theological seminary and of the university, and could discern how fearlessly its teachers were dealing with their themes and how evidently they were like a camp in movement, not content with their present positions. Whither? That remains to be seen. I can only make conjectures. Yes, I most certainly shall be known among my friends still more emphatically than ever as a Chicago fan.

* * *

And So Forth

Drew Forest once more. Here I am spending a few quiet days before sailing on the Columbus on June 2. What more beautiful and restful land than this can be found!

The missionary budgets in America seem to be very hard hit, and this is not due entirely to the depression. The conviction that there is only one front in the world does not seem to have reached the innermost heart of the church, and therefore the foreign missionary service does not make the urgent claim which it should make.

On some later occasion I may attempt to sum up my impressions, partial and inconclusive as they must be. My last word now must be one of heartful gratitude to all the kind friends who have made these past weeks so rich in memories. I once heard an American preacher discourse on "being given to hospitality"; I thought then and still think that this exhortation is not needed in America.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

The New Films

These summaries and evaluations are supplied by the National Film Estimate service. Estimates are for three groups: A, intelligent adults; Y, youth (15-20 years); C, children (under 15 years).

As You Desire Me

(Greta Garbo) (M-G-M) Accurate screening of the stage play, with Garbo doing typical work as alluring, sensual cabaret singer, turned wanton by war, memory of former happy marriage gone. Struggle to win back her old personality and position interesting and fairly convincing.

A: Good of kind. Y: By no means. C: No.

Famous Ferguson Case, The

(Joan Blondell) (First National) One of the poorest newspaper pictures to date. Clumsy direction and chopped up narrative make a passable story too vague for interest. Dialog often cheap and mostly mediocre, with no notable acting to save it. Supposed propaganda for clean journalism.

A: Mediocre. Y: Mediocre. C: No interest.

High Speed

(Buck Jones) (Columbia) Buck Jones as racing auto driver—usual track thrills of speed and accident. Hero beats crooks who would thwart his ambition, but he gets the purse, helps a cripple, and wins a girl.

A: Hardly. Y: Probably good. C: Good.

"When a Feller Needs a Friend"

(Jackie Cooper, Chic Sale) (M-G-M) Wholesome, appealing blending of comedy and pathos with Jackie Cooper notable as little lame boy, coddled by his parents into an inferiority complex which wise training by old Uncle Jonas helps him to overcome. Healthy theme.

A: Good. Y: Very good. C: Good if not too sad.

Radio Patrol

(Robert Armstrong, Lila Lee) (Universal) Propaganda for the high duty of the police force toward community welfare, but it is heavily cluttered up with crude romance, brutal murder, and the hero turning grafter. Chief merit an engaging role by Russell Hopton as pal of hard-boiled hero.

A: Perhaps. Y: Doubtful. C: No.

Probation

(John Darrow, Sally Blane) (Chesterfield) Rather absurd mixture of social problem play with juvenile court activities, and naive love story of poor boy and rich girl. Some charming bits but much is silly and in bad taste.

A: Mediocre. Y: Doubtful. C: No.

Best Recent Films for Family Audience

Explorers of the World.
It's Tough to Be Famous.
Symphony of Six Million.
Office Girl.
So Big.
Young America.

Films of Special Interest for Adults

Grand Hotel.
Miracle Man, The
Tarzan the Ape Man.
Doomed Battalion, The
Rich Are Always With Us.
Strange Case of Clara Deane.

BOOKS RECEIVED

Our Attitude to Self, by W. Mackintosh Mackay. Long-Smith, Inc., $2.00.

That Strange Little Brown Man, Gandhi, by Frederick B. Fisher. Long-Smith, Inc., $2.50.

The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, by George Adam Smith. Long-Smith, Inc., $6.00.

The Old Testament in the Church, by Alexander Nairne. Cambridge University Press, 30 cents.

The Growth of Political Thought in the West, by Charles Howard McIlwain. Macmillan, $5.00.

Christian Mysticism, by W. R. Inge. Methuen & Co., Ltd., London, 7/6.

Out in the Country, by Hazel V. Orton. Friendship Press, 75 cents.

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COLLEGE

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
A Journal of Religion

Gandhi and Missions

By C. F. Andrews

The Movies in Politics

By Fred Eastman

Editorials

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It Is the Church's Opportunity!

The Load on the Farmer's Back

Fifteen Cents a Copy—June 15, 1932—Four Dollars a Year

The CHRISTIAN CENTURY

June 15, 1932

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879. Published weekly by the Christian Century Press, 440 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

$4.00 a year. Canadian postage, 52 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.04 extra

The Christian Century is indexed in the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature generally found in the larger public libraries.

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The Office Notebook

The Notebook's eye is caught again this week by the contents of the "News of the Christian World," as it stands in the adjoining column. New York, Geneva, Canada, Memphis, Denver (the Presbyterian general assembly), the Philippines, Japan, Philadelphia, London—a list like that sets the world in one's heart, doesn't it?

But this gives the Notebook an opportunity to say something about the contents of the paper that has been pressing for utterance for a long time. With "authorities" like Fred Eastman and C. F. Andrews and Henry Nelson Wieman holding sway in the center of the paper, and the editors banging away at various targets up in the front, there is perhaps a danger that the value of the news pages may not be sufficiently appreciated.

Once in a while—a long, long while, of course—some things are printed in the central or forward part of the paper that the Notebook finds require considerable chewing before they can be fully assimilated. That never happens in the news pages. But the impression of a world in movement, of men out to seek new goals, comes just as crisply out of the rapid procession of events gathered from all over the globe as it does from the meditations of the sages. And the fact that these news-letters are written by busy men, who must find it very difficult at times to squeeze in the time to gather and report these facts, makes the Notebook the more anxious to let them know that what they are doing is of unusual worth.

That whole investigation of Mayor Walker in New York was rich in incidents worth comment. But one in particular remains in the Notebook's memory. The Tammany minority members of the investigating committee had become more and more indignant as the investigator, Judge Seabury, pressed his inquiries about the sources and extent of the surprisingly generous gifts received by the mayor. Finally one of them could stand it no longer and blurted out: "Is there no limit to this prying into personal affairs? Is there no decency left? I want to find out whether this is the United States or Russia?"

In view of what happens to party members in Russia who are far less suspect than the mayor of New York, and of the cheers which greeted Mr. Walker at the end of his testimony, it is safe to assure the Tammany brother that this is still the United States.

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